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Akhromeyev Cited on Disarmament, Restructuring

LD1403154489 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 11 Mar 89 p 11

[Interview with Soviet military adviser Sergey Akhromeyev by Ezio Mauro in Moscow—date not given; first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Moscow—"I have been in the Red Army for 49 years. I know the Soviet soldiers, I talk with the officers, and I visit barracks. There are worries and fears about the reduction of 500,000 men, there are concerns. But there is nothing political. I think I can say that most of our soldiers support restructuring, as I do." Sergey Akhromeyev, who was standing in uniform at the door of the office he occupies as Gorbachev's military adviser, wearing 11 rows of medals on his chest, is the man who carries the star and laurel within the Kremlin—the Soviet symbol reserved for the USSR's top six marshals. He is the official who is closest to Gorbachev, the man behind the unilateral reduction of 500,000 men in the Soviet Army. But he is also the director of the silent revolution at the top of the Soviet Armed Forces which, between 1985 and now, has prompted Gorbachev to replace all the old command piece by piece, dismantling Brezhnev's military leadership. Once the task had been accomplished, Akhromeyev abandoned the operational running of the armed forces as chief of staff and became adviser to the chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. From that position, he directs the increasingly close coordination between political decisions and military choices, and watches over the Red Army on Gorbachev's behalf. It is now clear to him that politics take precedence over force.

That was demonstrated by the only question which he refused to answer in the 3 hours of talks we had at the Kremlin. I asked him whether the invasion of Prague was a mistake. He raised his hands with a vengeful gleam in his eye: "Why are you asking me that? It was a political decision which took us there. It is up to politics to provide the answer."

[Mauro] Marshal Akhromeyev, what is your view of the start of the Vienna negotiations on conventional arms in Europe?

[Akhromeyev] I see it as a good start. I think that these negotiations are better than any previous negotiations. This is because this time there is a basis on which to negotiate. We have drawn up a mandate for the negotiators—both us and the West—and Vienna is the culmination of 2 and ½ years' work. Moreover, I am convinced that both sides now stand to gain from successful negotiations. If you want my prediction, I think that they will be successful, even if it is difficult to achieve.

[Mauro] But, are you really still convinced that NATO's figures showing the superiority of Soviet forces in Europe is mere "propaganda?"

[Akhromeyev] Not just propaganda: There is also a military and political aim to convince people of the Warsaw Pact's overwhelming supremacy in men and weapons. If people have that idea in their minds, something has been achieved. That has to be called propaganda. I will ask you something, in view of the fact that you are Italian and Italy has a coastline. How can a bloc's military potential be assessed without including naval forces? However, NATO's figures do not include naval forces. The calculations are therefore not objective. The truth is, that if you make a comprehensive analysis of the forces in the field, including naval forces, there is substantial parity between the two blocs' armed forces in Europe. If this analysis is not carried out or is incomplete, I am bound to think that there are propaganda reasons for it.

[Mauro] But NATO maintains that you want to extend the talks to include naval forces to conceal your 2 to 1 superiority in tanks, artillery (2 to 1) and armored infantry. What is your answer?

[Akhromeyev] That I still do not understand why naval forces are excluded. Is it simply because it does not suit NATO? Nobody can give us a reason; perhaps because they dare not admit it.

[Mauro] Meanwhile, new U.S. Secretary of State Baker has asked the USSR to officially renounce the Brezhnev doctrine. Are you prepared to do that?

[Akhromeyev] I do not know what this Brezhnev doctrine is. It does not exist. And I do not know where Mr Baker found it.

[Mauro] You must know, Marshal, that it was that doctrine which took you first into Czechoslovakia and then into Afghanistan. So?

[Akhromeyev] So, it is pointless to discuss nonexistent things. The so-called Brezhnev strategy does not exist in the Army. Of course, we have our doctrine, but that is not what it is called.

[Mauro] The latest "Gorbachev doctrine" makes provision for a unilateral cut of 500,000 men in the Soviet Army. The withdrawal from Mongolia began in the past few days. When will the withdrawal from Europe start?

[Akhromeyev] It will take time. Let us say April, or May to be more definite. In all, the Armed Forces will be reduced by 240,000 men—120,000 this year, 120,000 next year—while in the east we will reduce the Army by 200,000 and in the south by 60,000. The reduction will include all types of weapons, from missiles to airplanes, and including air defense weapons and naval weapons.

[Mauro] Is the Red Army accompanying this reduction by a rethinking of previous military policy, or is it simply carrying out orders? For instance, you said that the USSR bears some responsibility for the arms race, but you did not add anything else. Can you explain it more clearly?

[Akhromeyev] Yes, I said something of the kind. I think that both sides bear responsibility, one more than the other, but it comes to the same thing. Look, after 1985, we found it possible to abandon the blind alley of the arms race. We had a different foreign policy based on new political thinking. In the sixties and until the early eighties, we were too rigid in following the principle that every action required a reaction. Perhaps we ought to have been more flexible in those years.

[Mauro] But even now there are signs which seem to indicate resistance by the Army to the military reduction decided by Gorbachev: Is that true?

[Akhromeyev] Listen, I was chief of staff until recently. I can tell you that all the General Staff took part in preparatory work on the decision to cut 500,000 men, right from the start. I mean in summer 1988, not 2 or 3 days before Gorbachev's UN speech in which he announced the cuts. I would like to add that the Defense Ministry's proposals were discussed at the highest level. Of course, it was Gorbachev's decision, but I repeat, it was drawn up together with the military and the whole General Staff. The so-called resistance is a complete lie. We officers are not illiterate. We can assess the existing political and military situation, we can evaluate the reduction in tension over recent years, and we know that this is the only reason why cuts are now possible.

[Mauro] However, you are aware that when news of your unexpected resignation as chief of staff reached New York at the very time when Gorbachev was announcing cuts in the Red Army, many people thought it was a protest, or at least a refusal to be involved in the military reduction. Why did you leave at that time?

[Akhromeyev] It was because I am 66 years old and that is too old for a chief of staff—a job which requires 15 or 16 hours of work every day, with no Sundays off and often no vacations. I asked Comrade Gorbachev to change my job a few months before that. And the decision had already been approved for some time. As you can see, there was nothing going on behind the scenes, and no mystery.

[Mauro] So, you say that the Army, and especially its chiefs, are in favor of a reduction in manpower and weight, and thus in strength. But a year ago General Tretyak, air defense chief, said that Khrushchev's decision to cut 1.2 million men from the Army was a "colossal blow" to the USSR's defense capability. Is that not a warning?

[Akhromeyev] The present decision corresponds to the present political and military situation in the world. It has been carefully considered and discussed; it is not hasty and will not damage our military capability.

[Mauro] You were in the Army in February 1960 when Khrushchev fired 500 generals in one night. How did you view that action then and how do you view it now?

[Akhromeyev] At that time, I commanded a division. I do not think that all the decisions were carefully considered, planned, and thought out. And perhaps action was taken too quickly.

[Mauro] And yet, Marshal, the anxiety felt by officers and commands about their role and their future in view of Gorbachev's choices are visible everywhere. You just have to read the letters to newspapers. I will give you three examples: Lieutenant Colonel Tochalenko [name as published] said that it is frankly difficult to accept this reduction, Colonel Majarhij [name as published] explained that "these decisions will shatter the future of many soldiers," and old General Barabolja [name as published] brandished the specter of Khrushchev, and reaffirmed that "this reduction will cause serious human damage and the Army's quality will be reduced." Surely these are all evidence of discontent?

[Akhromeyev] No, it is not discontent, it is anxiety about their own future, and the future of their families, because the officers who are fired will have to start a new life. I will never say that these "cuts" are an easy decision, not even for me: I would be a liar if I did. But the officers know that the reduction is necessary, even if it creates problems for the future. The government and the defense minister will take all the necessary measures to give them a job and a house.

[Mauro] Why did the Politburo bemoan the relaxation of military discipline at one of its meetings in October? What had happened in the barracks?

[Akhromeyev] I was at that meeting, I took part in the discussions. It was noted that discipline in the Army is improving but that there are serious shortcomings. I can say that the present state of discipline is not causing problems, although I repeat that there are mistakes. We are not in a crisis. But, I think it is right for the Politburo to be tough and ask us to remedy the mistakes.

[Mauro] You said that the decision to withdraw from Afghanistan was "wise." How do you now view the previous Soviet decision to enter that country?

[Akhromeyev] I certainly cannot describe our soldiers' entry into Afghanistan in the same terms as I use for their withdrawal.

[Mauro] The whole pre-Gorbachev military leadership has gradually been replaced and there are now no officers appointed before 1985 at the head of the Armed Forces. What is the significance of these replacements?

[Akhromeyev] The only significance is that of age. I am 66 years old and I am the youngest of the officers who have retired. The others are all older than me.

[Mauro] But in Kulikov's case, his successor as head of Warsaw Pact forces is only 2 years younger. Does this present an age problem, too?

[Akhromeyev] It is only an age problem. My successor is 16 years younger than I.

[Mauro] But General Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, says that restructuring in the Army "is encountering difficulties." What does that mean?

[Akhromeyev] It means that there are problems. But take care: They are not political problems; they do not stem from the fact that some officers are saying no to restructuring. Army and Navy officers support this policy. However, the new course is demanding a new method of working and a different quality of work from the officers. But it is not easy, and everything is moving very slowly.

[Mauro] The Army has always had a partnership in post-Stalinist Soviet government. Are you not afraid that after this reduction the military's role will be reduced and changed?

[Akhromeyev] This does not worry us much. We have no secret ambitions, we do not dream of a bigger and more powerful Army. What we want is prosperity for our country. And that prosperity can only come from restructuring.

[Mauro] One more question, Marshal Akhromeyev. What would the Army do if a decision was taken to crush restructuring by force?

[Akhromeyev] Listen, I am 66 years old. I fought in the Great Patriotic War from the first day to the last and, even afterwards when I had important tasks, I always thought that that was the most important period in my life. I am now living through another important period. What answer can I give you? I hope to be able to work to help restructuring for a few more years. I am convinced that the vast majority of Soviet soldiers think like I do.

'Neutral' Austria 'Good Example' for Vienna Talks

LD1303224389 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] Our first report is by Radio Moscow's special correspondent Arman Oganesyan, from Vienna, where talks on conventional arms and confidence-building measures in Europe began last week:

[Oganesyan in Russian with superimposed English translation] The negotiations concern many types of conventional arms and complicated aspects of confidence-building and verification measures, so nobody expects them to be easy. At the same time, many participants in the talks believe that the Soviet-American INF Treaty is a good basis for future agreements. Yet a number of problems remain. NATO delegates seek to focus on reductions in tanks and artillery. The socialst countries say there must also be cuts in combat aircraft, including helicopters and manpower.

On the eve of the Vienna meeting a number of NATO officials confirmed their commitment to the forward deployment doctrine, which suggests that NATO should have an impressive and intimidating army group on the border with the Warsaw Treaty countries. This doctrine dates back to the time of the Cold War. However, those who come to the negotiating table these days apparently should abandon the dogmas that emerged in a period of history the British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher believes to be over. The fact that this military idea needs revision is dear to NATO countries too. Anyway, the West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher's statement that Bonn and Warsaw will convene an international conference next June to exchange opinions on the issue of military doctrines—that statement was not left unnoticed.

The Vienna negotiations are now focusing on the problem of reducing those arms which can be used to launch a surprise offensive in Europe. A unique opportunity is about to emerge for working out a common military doctrine to be used by both East and West. That doctrine will probably be based on the idea of reasonable sufficiency. There must be a military potential sufficient for defense, but insufficient for an attack. In this respect neutral Austria, which does not have a heavy burden of military spending, may serve as a good example to the countries involved in the Vienna talks.

NATO's Arctic Theater Strategy Criticized

PM1403134189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[Article by Colonel V. Pavlov under the rubric "Pertinent Notes": "'Arctic Option' and its Alternative"]

[Text] Recently the NATO periodical press has been animatedly discussing the possibility of shifting the main planned theater of military operations from central Europe to the Arctic. The armed forces staffs of the bloc's leading countries have begun to compile naval navigation charts and aeronautical charts, including the use of special projections on which the line of confrontation between the Warsaw Pact and NATO passes across the Arctic part of the globe. The term "central front," which includes the northern Arctic Ocean, Norway, Iceland, Greenland, and Canada, has even been put into circulation.

What are the arguments of the champions of the "Arctic option?" They link its promising nature with the possibility of obtaining one-sided advantages over a potential enemy taking into account the U.S. Navy's new naval strategy. What is implied above all is the Arctic's advantageousness from the viewpoint of the possibility of concentrating a U.S. nuclear missile fleet close to Soviet territory and thus obtaining a tangible strategic superiority. It is not out of the question that it is precisely in this connection that we should examine the creation in 1987 of the U.S. Navy's Arctic Oceanographic Center in Maryland. Its functions include providing special information for the group for planning combat operations under icy conditions. This information comes in regularly—twice a week. In the future the center's role will increase substantially. It will become a kind of coordinator for detecting and tracking the submarines of a potential enemy.

The installation in Greenland of a large radar station with two phased arrays as part of the BMEWS nuclear missile strike warning system is also undoubtedly connected with viewing the Arctic as a region of military confrontation. The station's range of about 5,000 km and search sector of 240 degrees make it possible to track ballistic missiles with a view to intercepting them over a considerable proportion of their flight trajectory. Plans are being nurtured for constructing one more similar radar station in Alaska. Taking into account the third station of this type deployed in Britain, a system of ABM information backup will thus be created on the basis of large radar stations, which will enhance the Arctic's role in the strategy of the United States and the bloc in general.

The opinions of high-ranking NATO representatives on the stationing of facilities for intercepting ballistic missiles at the middle and end sectors of their flight trajectories in Canada, Iceland, Greenland, and Alaska and also on aircraft based in the North Arctic Ocean and on ships and submarines in Arctic waters.

There are also other plans to improve the infrastructure of the "central front." In this connection the question naturally arises: But is there no possibility of freeing ourselves from all these burdensome concerns, from all this wasteful building? Is there an alternative to the "Arctic option?" There is. It lies in a positive answer to the Soviet proposals set forth in 1987 in Murmansk by M.S. Gorbachev. The Soviet leader spoke at the time of the USSR's readiness to undertake virtually any steps to reduce military activity in the Arctic on a mutual basis, to extend confidence-building measures to the Arctic, and to turn this vast region of the planet into a zone of peaceful cooperation.

But instead of constructive countersteps the United States and NATO are continuing their quest, in the Arctic as well, for ultimately futile ways of achieving military superiority over the Soviet Union. Futile because under present conditions military means have ceased to be levers in policy with regard to East-West relations. This has, incidentally, also been admitted in Washington. But mere admission is obviously not enough. Political will is needed that is strong enough to alter the customary order of things and renounce obsolete stereotypes of military thinking.

Joint Exercises With GDR, Polish Forces 15-22 Mar
LD0903095189 Moscow TASS in English 0942 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Berlin March 9 TASS—Joint exercises of the Group of Soviet Troops in Germany, the Polish Army and the GDR National Peoples Army, code-named "Friendship-89", will be held in GDR territory from March 15-22.

According to the ADN news service, the exercises will take place in the area of the populated localities of Gardelegen, Haldensleben, Essen, Damme, Barh and Tangermuede. Up to 16,500 servicemen of the three fraternal armies will take part in them.

The purpose of the exercises is to raise the standard of field training. The exercises will be comanded by Lieutenant-General M. Kalinin, first deputy commander of the Group of Soviet Troops in Germany.

In keeping with the corresponding Stockholm conference document, all states—members of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe—have been informed about the forthcoming exercises.

Pact Experts Analyze Mediterranean Situation
LD0903194589 Moscow TASS in English 1935 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia March 9 TASS—A working group of Warsaw Treaty experts had a meeting in Sofia on March 8-9 to analyze the situation in the Mediterranean and to elaborate proposals for ways of improving it.

Bulgaria's Deputy Foreign Minister Ivan Ganev met with the participants in the meeting.

Slyunkov Leaves Prague After CEMA Meeting
LD0703222189 Moscow TASS in English 1832 GMT 7 Mar 89

[For reportage on the meeting in Prague of the CEMA Central Committees' secretaries, see p 15 of the 8 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT]

[Text] Prague March 7 TASS—Nikolay Slyunkov, who took part in a meeting of secretaries for economic issues of the Central Committees of the Communist and workers' parties of the CMEA member countries, left Prague for home on Tuesday.

He was seen off at the airport by secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Josef Lenart and other officials.

The send-off party included the Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia, Viktor Lomakin.

Railway Protocol Signed With PRC, DPRK, MPR
OW1203112189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] A 1989 protocol on railway transport for export, import, and transit goods was signed by representatives of railways, transportation, and communications departments from China, Korea, Mongolia, and the Soviet Union in Beijing on 4 March.

According to XINHUA, a four-nation railway freight meeting was held in the Chinese capital from 25 February to 4 March. After consultations among representatives of the railway departments and foreign trade organizations, the four countries reached an accord on a transportation plan for export, import, and transit goods, as well as technical measures for ensuring fulfillment of the plan.

Gerasimov Gives Foreign Ministry Briefing 15 Mar

U.S. Attache To Be Expelled

WA1503102989 Paris AFP in English 1026 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, March 15 (AFP)—The Soviet Union is to expel a U.S. deputy military attache as a riposte to Washington's expulsion order last week against an alleged Soviet spy, an official said here Wednesday.

The Kremlin decision was in "reply to the American secret services," Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennady Gerasimov told the press.

He said that U.S. "Lieutenant Colonel Daniel Van Gundy was caught secretly taking photos of military buildings in a region closed to foreigners."

The order making him persona non gratis was a riposte to U.S. "provocation", he said.

Washington said last Thursday it had ordered out Lieutenant Colonel Yuriy Nikolayevich Pakhtusov, aged 35, "for engaging in activities incompatible with his diplomatic status."

He had allegedly obtained documents from an employee of a U.S. firm which dealt with the protection of sensitive government information in computers.

The employee reported an initial contact by the Soviet to the Federal Bureau of Investigation last August and agents monitored moves from then on.

Mr. Gerasimov said the expulsion was an "unjustified provocation which can only put a brake on a positive development of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the United States."

"It is strange that this 'spymania' springs up all of a sudden, when there is an improvement in relations between the two countries and at a time when a new adminstration is settling in in the United States," he said.

U.S. Press Coverage 'Biased'

LD1503105589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0957 GMT 15 Mar 89

["USSR Foreign Ministry Representative on Fabrications of the U.S. Press"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 15 Mar: "Reports have appeared in the U.S. press which, in our view, give a biased assessment of the results of the trip to the Soviet Union by U.S. psychiatrists," it was stated at a briefing here today by Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate.

In this regard he reminded his listeners that at the news conference held in Moscow the leaders of the delegation of U.S. psychiatrists had given a positive assessment of the results of the trip. A positive assessment of the psychiatrists' trip to the USSR is also given in a U.S. State Department statement of 13 March. The statement stresses, in particular, that the trip was very successful in achieving its main aim—the collection of facts on changes in Soviet policy and legislation in the sphere of psychiatric activity, treatment, and legal practice. The document notes the exceptional opportunity of learning about the practice of psychiatry in the Soviet Union, and in spite of certain organizational problems, the unprecedented degree of openness.

The U.S. State Department spokesman Charles Redman also spoke in the same spirit at a briefing for the press, Gennadiy Gerasimov noted.

Afghan Developments 'Non-Constructive'

LD1503130189 Moscow TASS in English 1252 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 15 TASS—The Soviet Union regards as non-constructive the decision of the Sudanese and Bahrain Governments to recognize the so-called "transitional Afghan Government," Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, said at a briefing here on Wednesday. He pointed out that this step would further aggravate the situation in Afghanistan and would whip up the fratricidal conflict.

According to Gerasimov, Sudan's arguments that this step could induce mujaheeds to give up the armed struggle and pass over to political methods of looking for ways towards the internal Afghan settlement do not hold water. The decision to recognize the "transitional government" runs counter to recent statements of the Sudanese leaders favouring the negotiating process, the prevention of bloodshed and the establishment of peace in Afghanistan.

The attack of Pakistani malishas [as received] and armed opposition detachments on Jalalabad with the support of Pakistani artillery and combat helicopters is going on. Pakistani and other military advisers are taking part in the planning and staging of operations. A prisoner of war taken by the government troops in the area of Jalalabad said that the joint Pakistani and mujaheed operation aimed at capturing the city had been planned in Peshawar. Brigadier Jan Djwa, a Pakistani military intelligence officer, is in charge of the operation.

The Soviet side has pointed on more than one occasion to the dangerous consequences of the transfer to Afghan rebels of the U.S. ground-to-air missiles, Stinger, Gerasimov continued. He commented on misgivings now

expressed in the United States over a possibiity of terrorist organisations in the Middle and Near East getting hold of Stinger missiles and using them against U.S. facilities.

Gerasimov Gives Foreign Ministry Briefing 14 Mar

Northern Forces To Be Cut 20,000

LD1403144189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1402 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 14 March (TASS)—According to the estimates of the General Headquarters of the USSR Armed Forces, the staff of the Leningrad Military District and the forces of the Northern Fleet are to be cut by approximately 20,000 within the framework of the reduction of the Armed Forces by 500,000 men in the next 2 years. This was reported at a briefing here today by Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry. He was explaining reports which have appeared in the Swedish press, referring to the delegation of the Military Committee of the Norwegian Storting [legislature] which has been visiting the USSR, on a reduction in the number of servicemen of the Leningrad Military District.

Gennadiy Gerasimov also informed journalists that about 700 tanks were withdrawn from the north of the European part of the USSR back in 1986-1987. No major tank units currently remain there. Two submarines equipped with ballistic missiles have been removed from the Soviet Baltic Fleet, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

CW-Free Europe Encouraged

LD1403151289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1443 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 14 Mar (TASS)—It is noted with satisfaction in the Soviet Union that the idea of liberating Europe from chemical weapons is gaining increasing support and is moving into the stage of practical implementation, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry stated at a briefing here today.

He said that Moscow welcomes the statement by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker on the speeding up of the withdrawal of U.S. chemical weapons from the FRG, and the statement by State Department spokesman Charles Redman, that the new generation of chemical weapons, so-called binary weapons, now being produced in the United States, will not be deployed in Europe.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman noted that surprise has been evoked in the Soviet Union by the statements of a number of political figures in the FRG containing persistant proposals that Soviet chemical weapons be withdrawn from the GDR. "There are no Soviet chemical weapons in the region of central Europe," he stressed in this connection. "All our chemical weapons are located only on Soviet territory."

Gennadiy Gerasimov said that if the FRG has any doubts, the Soviet side suggests that interested countries work out a procedure on the bases of equality and reciprocity which, used as guidance, would make it possible to verify the presence or absence of Soviet or U.S. chemical weapons beyond the national territories of the USSR and United States, including central Europe.

PRC Border Talks 'Constructive'

LD1403202489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Excerpt] Today, a briefing took place at the Foreign Ministry press center on current international political issues. Comrade Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, who spoke at the briefing, said in particular:

[Begin Gerasimov recording] The sessions of the working group within the framework of the Soviet-Chinese talks on border questions ended in Moscow on 13 March. The group traced on the maps the line of the Soviet-Chinese border in its western section; that is, from Mongolia to Afghanistan. In all, this border is 3,200 km long. The overall atmosphere was businesslike and constructive and the volume of work was very large. Therefore, it has been decided to continue it in 2 weeks time in Beijing. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Southern Africa Policy Defended

LD1403152189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1446 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 14 Mar (TASS)—"The Soviet Union is following closely the work of the meeting of foreign ministers of the member countries of the Islamic Conference Organization in Saudi Arabia," Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs said at a briefing here today. He expressed the hope that the session's decisions would become part of the general efforts toward a political settlement of the conflict situations in the world on a basis of dialogue, freedom of choice, a balance of interest of the sides, and international legality.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman described the speculation in the British mass information media about the Soviet Union's policy toward the RSA and southern Africa as "an attempt to drive a wedge between our country and its friends." He confirmed that the USSR

favors a political settlement in southern Africa, including the removal of apartheid, which would match the long-term interests of all southern Africans, including the white population.

Replying to a question about the possibility of holding a meeting between representatives of the PLO and Israel in Moscow, Gennadiy Gerasimov said that the geography of the venue for such a meeting was not important. The main thing was for both sides to wish to hold it.

The representative of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs confirmed that the status of the PLO representative in Moscow would soon be raised to the rank of ambassador.

Speaking in the context of the briefing, Boris Khabirov, a USSR Foreign Ministry expert, told journalists about the results of the session of the science and technology subcommittee of the UN Committee on the Peaceful Use of Space. He stressed that the discussions highlighted with renewed force the urgent need for joint efforts by states with the aim of a more rational and effective use of resources in space, including obtaining real, practical benefits in tackling economic and social problems.

Cyprus Measures 'Deserve' Support

LD1403153189 Moscow TASS in English 1503 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 14 TASS—"The Soviet Union is closely following the efforts continued under the aegis of the U.N. secretary-general to achieve a stable and just settlement of the Cyprus problem in the interests of all Cypriots, peace and security in the eastern Mediterranean," Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, told a briefing here on Tuesday.

Noting that the dialogue has entered now a responsible stage, Gerasimov pointed to the urgent need for preserving on Cyprus and around it a situation, favourable for inter-communal talks.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman pointed out that measures of military deconfrontation providing for disengagement of posts along the Green Line in Nicosia, as well as steps taken by the island's public to increase inter-communal contacts, which are promoted by the U.N. peace-keeping force on Cyprus, deserve most resolute support.

It is important under the present circumstances, Gerasimov said, that the sides on Cyprus should do their utmost to prevent any actions which can complicate the situation and put into jeopardy the inter-communal dialogue which is a necessary element of the process of a peace settlement on the island.

Central Committee Group Meets on Global Politics

LD1403195189 Moscow TASS in English 1931 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 14 TASS—A meeting of the Commission of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee on matters of international politics was held here on Tuesday. Aleksandr Yakovlev, a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, presided over the meeting. It discussed some problems central to the foreign policy activity of the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet state, the main directions of practical work of party and government bodies, of Soviet public organisations to implement new concepts and initiatives set out in Mikhail Gorbachev's programme address to the United Nations on December 7, 1988.

It was noted at the meeting that Gorbachev's address summed up the philosophy of qualitative renewal of the entire system of international relations on a peaceful and democratic basis that the Soviet Union proposed to the world community. The address also contained concrete proposals of practical measures to consolidate international security, ensure real progress in disarmament matters, promote a fair and peaceful settlement to regional conflicts and joint quest for optimal solutions of global political, economic and ecological problems.

Progress in the improvement of international situation was noted with satisfaction at the commission's meeting. Real and heartening breakthroughs include the successful conclusion of the Vienna meeting of participating countries in CSCE and the beginning of appropriate talks among representatives of 33 European countries, the USA and Canada, progress in the efforts to ease international tension in various continents, the enhancement of the United Nations political role.

Members of the commission dwelt particularly on the situation shaping in Afghanistan and around it. It was pointed to the consistency of the efforts of the leaders of the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan toward achieving a comprehensive political settlement and their strict compliance with the obligations under the Geneva accords. At the same time the present developments in Afghanistan fraught with the aggravation of the internal Afghan conflict attest to the need of strict observance of the obligations by all the parties, particularly by Pakistan and the USA, so that a broad-based national reconciliation be achieved.

There was a thorough exchange of opinions on problems of relations between the USSR and the PRC. There was a consensus about the importance for the situation in the Far East and the whole world of their complete normalisation and dynamic development of cooperation in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence, in the spirit of equal partnership and goodneighbourliness.

The members of the Commission were informed of the restructuring of the International Department of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee in accordance with the decisions of the 19th party conference.

The Commission endorsed the plan of its work till the end of the current year.

It was decided on a range of central and local organisations to be invited to draft considerations related to the international activity of the Soviet Communist Party on the basis of new political thinking. The Commission decided on a complex of specific questions to be studied in the Commission's working groups to advance practical recommendations on separate aspects of the foreign policy and international relations.

Socialist International Conference Held in Vienna

PM1503104189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent I. Melnikov dispatch: "Course Correction. Socialist International Discussed Problems of International Politics"]

[Text] Vienna, 11 Mar—A 2-day Socialist International conference has been held in the Austrian capital. Leading figures in the socialist and social democratic parties of almost 50 countries placed the most urgent problems on the agenda: East-West relations and questions of disarmament in connection with the talks which have begun in Vienna on reducing conventional armed forces and arms from the Atlantic to the Urals and on confidence- and security-building measures.

Socialist International Chairman Willy Brandt opened the session in the Hofburg. He noted the recent positive changes in the international arena and urged the participants in the meeting to conduct an open and interested exchange of opinions.

Austrian Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky dwelt on the process of reforms and large-scale transformations under way in the Soviet Union and other socialist states. Regardless of the possible difficulties in its path, he pointed out, restructuring will be crowned with success. Social democrats welcome it and support steps which help to develop pluralism of opinions and to enhance economic efficiency. In international affairs, the chancellor emphasized, East-West relations have entered a new stage thanks to the restoration of the atmosphere of dialogue between the USSR and the United States. The "position of strength" policy and the maintenance of military potentials at a high level must be succeeded by the strengthening of peace and stability through disarmament.

Moscow's new policy must be evaluated realistically and without prejudice, Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson declared. The unilateral reductions of Soviet troops and conventional arms are the very proof that the USSR does not accept a strategy of military superiority. In the Swedish politician's opinion, it is necessary to create a nuclear-free corridor in central Europe, which would be the first step toward eliminating all tactical nuclear weapons on the continent.

The draft of a new declaration on the principles of the Socialist International's activity was discussed at the conference. This document, which attests to real corrections to the policy of the social democratic movement in keeping with the spirit of the times, will be adopted at the Socialist International congress due to be held in Stockholm this June.

UN Human Rights Commission Ends 45th Session

PM1403165989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[Special correspondent V. Bolshakov dispatch: "Switzerland: How To Measure Freedom?"]

[Text] Geneva, 11 Mar—The latest, 45th session of the UN Human Rights Commission has ended in Geneva's Palais des Nations. Its results have still to be analyzed by both the Soviet and world press, but it can already be said that in many ways the session marked a turning point and managed to designate new paths of humanitarian cooperation in the sensitive sphere of human rights.

Some 6 weeks ago, when the session was just beginning its work, even the preliminary agenda—which subsequently was considerably "fleshed out"—seemed quite sufficient for 6 months' work. And, indeed, the range of problems discussed was very wide. Nevertheless, the commission maintained its schedule.

At the Geneva forum the world community condemned the systematic flouting of human rights in the Israeli-occupied Arab territories, South Africa, Chile, El Salvador, Iran, and other countries. During the examination of Item No 12—"on the violation of human rights and basic freedoms in any part of the world, particularly in colonial and other dependent countries and territories"—certain Western delegations, primarily the United States, raised the question of the human rights situation in Albania, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, the USSR, and other socialist countries. As distinct from previous years, nevertheless, even the Western representatives' apparently traditional enumeration of "violators" of human rights, among which Washington primarily includes the socialist countries, was a tribute to political inertia rather than a desire for confrontation. The majority of the speakers noted the recent radical improvement of the human rights situation in the Soviet Union.

The question of the human rights situation in Romania was raised in earnest. Hungary, which is concerned about the fate of the Hungarian ethnic minority in Romania, was the coauthor of a resolution on this

question together with Sweden and other Western countries. The USSR and Ukrainian SSR delegations abstained from voting on this resolution.

During the discussion of a report by UN human rights experts who visited Cuba it proved possible to avoid confrontation—the spirit of which was heard, for example, in the speech by Walters, U.S. permanent representative at the United Nations. As a result, the U.S., British, Canadian, Italian, and Japanese delegations voted for the resolution on Cuba together with Cuba itself, the Soviet Union, China, and other socialist countries.

One of the most important results of the commission's Geneva session was the conclusion of work on the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which will be submitted to the UN General Assembly for examination.

The USSR's statement of adherence to the Optional Protocol to the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights elicited a broad response.

In all, more than 80 resolutions were adopted at the session on various aspects of the defense of human rights and freedoms. And it is characteristic that their discussion proceeded mainly in a spirit of cooperation, with the obvious desire to understand the positions of the partners in the multilateral dialogue. The new thinking—and this was visibly confirmed by the Geneva human rights forum—is gradually being asserted in the world community as the norm for civilized contacts among states with different political and social systems.

Europarliament 'Baltic Group' Visit Criticized
PM1103161089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Mar 89 Second Edition p 6

[Yuriy Zhukov article: "Guests Came to the Baltic-...People Who Hamper International Cooperation"]

[Text] At the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, an official visit to the Soviet Union was just made by a delegation from the European Parliament, which is elected by universal suffrage in the member countries of the European Communities, which unites 12 countries—Britain, France, the FRG, Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Greece, Portugal, Denmark, Ireland, and Luxembourg.

Among the questions discussed in the European Parliament—along with economic, financial, and legal problems of the communities—political questions are gaining increasing importance, including questions of an international nature. Naturally, the first visit to our country by a delegation from this parliament was of great importance, especially since official relations were established between the USSR and the EC on 10 August last year. As is well-known, this became possible after the attainment of an accord on the normalization of relations between CEMA and the EEC.

As a result of thorough, businesslike talks held by the European Parliament delegation in Moscow, encouraging prospects emerged for all-European cooperation, including parliamentary cooperation. Interesting proposals were put forward and approved, in particular with regards to strengthening interparliamentary ties, which began to develop back in December 1985 and are now taking on a far broader scope.

In light of these results, one cannot but feel a certain perplexity at the visit to the Baltic region by four members of the so-called "Baltic Group" formed within the Europarliament framework last May, which preceded the arrival of the European Parliament delegation. The visit took place, as AFP reported on 27 February, at the invitation of "unofficial social organizations" in the Baltic Soviet socialist republics.

The "Baltic Group," for its part, according to its general secretary A. Klimaytis, is an "informal association" to which fewer than 20 Europarliament deputies belong. The reader may wonder why this "association" was formed—after all, none of the states located on the shores of the Baltic is a member of the West European communities—neither Sweden, nor Finland, nor the USSR, nor Poland, nor the GDR.

It seems the initiators of the foundation of this "informal group" set themselves the goal, as they themselves declare, of promoting the..."independence" of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, which belong to the USSR. Its chairman, AFP states, is a "Balt by extraction," Hans-Joachim Seller, while the "general secretary" is the aforementioned Algis Klimaytis, a Lithuanian by extraction, born to an emigre family in the West. (He is not a deputy of the European Parliament.)

According to Klimaytis, the "Baltic Group" is concerned exclusively with questions of the "past, present, and future" of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. He himself has visited these Soviet republics a number of times "in order to study on the spot the population's real feelings." Incidentally, he was in Vilnius again on 15 February, when he spoke at a session of the "Sajudis" Sejm where irresponsible calls were made by extremists for...the "liberation" of Lithuania.

And so the members of the "Baltic Group," headed by Seller, were in the Baltic region 7 through 12 February in order, they said, to collect information on the spot about the processes taking place in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. They came basically as private individuals. Nonetheless, they were received quite officially.

In SOVETSKAYA ESTONIA for 10 February, for instance, I read a report, placed in the most prominent position on the front page, headed "European Parliament Delegation in Estonia," accompanied by a large photograph. The report said: "A European Parliament delegation arrived in our republic 9 February.... On the same day the guests met with A. Ryuytel, chairman of

the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. M. Titma, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, and A. Gren, Estonian SSR foreign minister, took part in the meeting."

But is information gathering all that interests the "Baltic Group," the guests from which were for some reason represented in the newspaper as a "European Parliament delegation"? One might doubt it after reading an interview published in Paris with a member of the group, Philippe Malaud, whom AFP described as "chairman of the right-wing federation of independents." In an interview he gave to the agency, Philippe Malaud summed up as follows the results of the visit and the talks he and his colleagues had in the Baltic region: "The four members of the European Parliament, in the course of their recent visit to the three Baltic republics, reaffirmed the refusal of Western countries to recognize the annexation (?) of the Baltic republics by the Soviet Union."

These guests recorded their position, in particular, in a communique signed by them jointly with the leaders of the Lithuanian "Sajudis" movement—it was published in the newspaper ATGIMIMAS on 17 February.

Acting circumspectly, the guests from the "Baltic Group" first stated in their speeches in Vilnius that they consider it possible to ensure the sovereignty of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia within the framework of treaty relations of some kind with the USSR. But when the most aggressively minded "crowds of people," as Philippe Malaud put it, began to assert that this position is tantamount to "legal recognition of annexation," "the delegates stated clearly"—again, I am quoting this man's interview given to AFP—"the position of Western states, which regard these countries as former members of the League of Nations."

Malaud went on to say that he "intends, after consultation with other members of the delegation, to submit for consideration by the European Parliament a draft resolution containing, in particular, a final refusal to recognize the annexation of the Baltic republics and reaffirming their right to decide their own fate and to be represented at the United Nations as former members of the League of Nations."

Characteristically, it was this member of the "Baltic Group" who was favored with compliments by A. Terlyatskas, a leader of the extremist group that boastfully calls itself the "Freedom League." In an interview, also published in ATGIMIMAS at the same time as the aforementioned "joint communique," he said:

"Lithuania's political position was best assessed by Mr P. Malaud. Mr Seller only lectured us and made it clear to us that the status quo suits him, with some reservations. But Mr Malaud emphasized the occupation of the region and asserted that the Europarliament regards us and will continue to regard us as an annexed country, in which changes are possible only after the withdrawal of troops."

All these petty political machinations in the "cold war" spirit would probably not be worth taking any notice of—plenty of old-fashioned fabrications of this kind are put about by some Western figures, who find that our restructuring sticks in their throats, so to speak! For them, no holds are barred in the attempt to hamper the developing normalization of East-West relations and, in particular, the strengthening cooperation between Soviet parliamentarians and European Parliament deputies.

But here is what I cannot understand: Why were these visitors, who basically represent no one but themselves, received with honor and respect at an official level as a "European Parliament delegation," although they were nothing of the kind? Philippe Malaud himself, mentioning this, was, according to AFP, surprised. He said he had the impression that the governments of the Baltic republics and "the local communist parties" support the unofficial organizations that demand the separation of these republics from the USSR. And AFP went on to expound as follows his ideas on this subject:

"The communist party there is not ideological, but administrative in nature," Malaud said, in particular. On the other hand, the French deputy noted, these three republics display "ultranationalism in the cultural sphere," rejecting, as a rule, the Russian language and the Russian press and television. During the visit of the Europarliament delegation slogans in English (!) could be seen on the demonstrators' banners: "Red Army, go home!," "No more occupation!"

Naturally, the man who spoke so sweepingly and irresponsibly was confusing his own cherished desires with reality. The sorties of extremists and provocateurs that pleased him so much will not shake the positions of the healthy forces of the peoples of the Baltic region, who are engaged not in talk, but in deeds.

In this connection one cannot but agree with the opinion of the Interdvizheniye Tallinn Council Presidium, which telegraphed a protest to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the editorial offices of central newspapers on 1 March, protesting the activity of the representatives of the "Baltic Group," which it assesses as interference in the USSR's internal affairs. "Please take into account our opinion that such visits at the present time exacerbate interethnic tension," the telegram stresses.

Experience shows that any attempts at outside interference in other states' internal affairs and attempts to encourage extremists or give international public opinion a false picture of the state of affairs in the countries visited by such guests, can do no good. They invariably end in embarrassment for those who engage in such an unseemly act.

It remains for us to thank Monsieur Malaud for his frank remarks that cast light on the true objectives of the visit to the Soviet Baltic region by the four "Baltic Group" members. The comrades who received these guests so cordially can now understand better with whom they were dealing.

As for cooperation between Soviet parliamentarians and their colleagues from the Europarliament, I am sure the intrigues engaged in by the so-called "Baltic Group" on the eve of the official visit by a delegation from that important international parliamentary body to the USSR cannot hamper its development. The task of building the "common European home," to which both sides attach such great significance, is too important to allow ourselves to yield to provocation.

Official Comments on Arctic Ecological Situation

LD1003215689 Moscow TASS in English 2121 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 10 TASS—"Despite all the measures being taken, the ecological situation in the Arctic is deteriorating rapidly," holds Vadim Zagladin, secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Zagladin led the Soviet delegation at a meeting of parliamentarians of the countries of northern Europe and Canada on the ecology of the North, held in Moscow recently.

The meeting discussed measures that could be worked out jointly in the area of ecology and ways of their implementation, Zagladin said in an interview to IZVESTIYA published on Friday.

Two tendencies have manifested themselves. The first one—urgent measures that could be taken now for the purpose of decreasing the level of environmental pollution by reducing production wastes.

The second tendency is absolutely new measures that constitute a transition to such technologies in the industry and agriculture as would not be merely reducing damage to the environment but would also be ecologically pure, energy and resource saving.

In other words, economy should be combined with ecology. The transition to new methods of production is obviously very expensive and is of a long-term nature. But it is only this road that can radically alter the ecology of the North and protect human habitat as a whole.

Zagladin is of the opinion that in order to preserve the environment it is necessary to popularise ecological knowledge and information on specific aspects of this problem. The question of openness of the ecological policy, of glasnost in the area invariably suggests itself. Thus, one of the results of the recent meeting of parliamentarians was an arrangement on regular exchange of information, discussion of ecological matters in parliaments, mutual control. This is an example of such openness, the Soviet parliamentarian said. Besides that it is necessary to set up an independent ecological expertise for thorough examination of all economic projects. Problems of ecology know of neither state boundaries nor political distinctions, so they should be resolved in close interaction with other countries.

United States & Canada

Bush Outlines Administration Agenda

LD1503092189 Moscow TASS in English 0832 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Washington March 15 TASS—United States President George Bush sees the main task of his administration in "preparing the country for the next century."

"By the year 2000," he said, addressing the National Legislative Conference of Independent Insurance Agents in Washington on Tuesday, "we will have experienced change as swift and fast as a torrent—change in the American family, in our work habits, change in technology, and change in the world economy, change and the rate of change itself."

Bush said the agenda of his administration is "to confront the emerging problems of the future today."

"The question we must answer is, will American foreign policy be flexible enough to meet the emerging and potentially dramatic new world developments," the U.S. President went on to say.

"And with this question in mind, I've asked all of the appropriate agencies—State Department, Defense, other agencies—to reassess our foreign policy and defense strategy, and this comprehensive review will set the basis for our future actions."

"I see a couple of kids here," the President said. "I believe they have a chance to grow up in a more peaceful world. I believe we have, with the changes in the Soviet Union, great challenge, but also great opportunity. But the answer is not to rush in. The answer is to take a prudent re-evaluation, and then move forward."

Touching upon matters concerning the U.S. domestic policy, the President devoted special attention to homelessness which he described as a "national shame."

The President said that when one looks out the window of the White House and sees the ragged, pathetic figures huddled over the steam grates, one sees "an affront to the American dream."

Environmental protection and combating the spread of narcotics are no less serious problems, according to the President, and the administration intends to devote much attention to them.

Baker Views Soviet Ties, U.S. Foreign Aid

LD1503111389 Moscow TASS in English 1100 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Washington March 15 TASS—By TASS correspondent Oleg Polyakovskiy:

"It is the view of the United States that perestroyka is a good thing for the Soviet Union and it is a good thing for the world ... There may be some few in the United States who tend to think otherwise. They might think that somehow a weaker Soviet Union would be good for the United States. And I emphasised to the foreign minister, as I had to my NATO counterparts, that that is not the view of this administration," U.S. Secretary of State James Baker III said at U.S. Congress on Tuesday. He made a short report on his trip to Europe and the Far East at hearings held by the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations of the House Committee on Appropriations in connection with the Bush admnistration's foreign assistance request for fiscal 1990. Telling congressmen about his meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, Baker pointed out that "the atmosphere was very positive, and we had a very broad substantive discussion. [no closing quote marks as received] According to the U.S. secretary of state, the U.S. delayed the esumption of the START negotiations "in order to complete our strategic policy review in this country. I assured him that we were determined to reach agreement, building on our past progress".

He pointed out that the two countries' stands on the reduction of conventional armaments in Europe were getting closer together. "The differences, of course, in the Soviet and NATO proposals are still considerable ... so it is obvious, I suppose, that we still have plenty of work to do... We reviewed regional issues," Baker said. He told congressmen that the Soviet policy in Central America did not suit the Bush administration. "Mr Shevardnadze's trip and discussions in Iran were also not particularly encouraging to us." Touching upon the Middle East situation, Baker said: "In my view, the Soviets could be helpful if they re-established relations with Israel and if they supported a dialogue between Israel and Palestinians."

During the meeting the sides agreed on the need to expand the agenda of the Soviet-American talks "to deal with missile and chemical proliferation and also the transnational or global issues that cut across national boundaries, issues such as the environment, drugs and terrorism," Baker continued.

In the course of his talks with foreign ministers of the NATO countries Baker "found recognition...that we will need a common approach to the new military facts that are created by our INF Treaty. [no closing quote marks as received] Telling congressmen about his trip to the Far East, he expressed hope that cooperation with Japan, the Philippines and South Korea would be expanded for the purpose of preserving U.S. "military capabilities" in those countries.

Passing over to the problem of foreign assistance allocations, Baker recalled that the administration would like to receive for those purposes 19.3 billion dollars, of which 13.9 billion dollars are to be spent on military and

economic assistance to other countries. According to Baker, the money given along those lines helps U.S. friends and allies, and especially serves to promote U.S. interests abroad.

Pentagon's Plans To 'Bolster' SDI Criticized

LD1403174489 Moscow TASS in English 1708 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Vladimir Bogachev commentary]

[Text] Moscow March 14—TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev:

A review of the United States military policy now being made by the new administration in Washington prompted the Pentagon to take fresh attempts to bolster up the reputation of the U.S. star wars programme and to press for its continuation.

Another leakage of confidential information organised by the U.S. Department of Defence enabled the U.S. press to publish reports about a memorandum of Lieutenant-General James Abrahamson, former head of the Strategic Defence Initiative programme. In that memorandum he advanced a new version of ABM, named "Brilliant Pebbles". As distinct from previous reasoning in support of SDI, James Abrahamson in his memorandum places emphasis on relatively low cost of implementation of the initial stage of the programme: "a mere" 25 billion dollars within five years. Edward Teller who was instrumental in making possible the first U.S. hydrogen bomb explosion, stated in February that "every pebble" will cost no less than one million dollars.

"Brilliant Pebbles" programme worked out by the Livermore Laboratory envisages putting into space several thousand miniature sensor interceptors each of which will carry its own computer, engine and system of homing on the exhaust of missiles at the acceleration stage of their trajectory. Abrahamson said that the ground guidance complex will cost four billion dollars.

Though the former head of the SDI programme asserts that the new interceptors will be able to destroy missiles, he does not give any data about the probability of hitting missiles. He, naturally, did not repeat words of former President of the U.S.A. Ronald Reagan that SDI will make nuclear weapons "obsolete and impotent". Even if only one to three percent of missiles launched hit targets, this will cause an unprecedented catastrophe.

The new version of SDI, just as the previous one, is absolutely senseless from the military point of view. It will not protect the U.S.A. from a retaliatory strike. It will ensure even the minimum security for the U.S. population in the event of nuclear war. [sentence as received; Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1334 GMT on 14 March carries a similar item which renders the sentence as follows: "It will not ensure even the minimum security for the U.S. population in the event of nuclear war."] The country dealing a first nuclear strike will have the dubious privilege to perish as a result of the retaliatory strike, and this will not be altered by the existence of a broad ABM, in a new, or an old version.

Even American specialists immediately criticised James Abrahamson's new version. They stated that the U.S.A. does not have so far even the technology needed to create "Brilliant Pebbles," so a five-year term for concluding the first stage of the star wars programme is out of the question.

What is at hand is most probably the Pentagon's new bluff aimed at getting from the U.S. Congress the funds to continue the star wars programme and also aimed at trying to involve the Soviet Union in a costly race of space strike arms, and thus attempting to complicate the implementation of the Soviet plans of economic development.

U.S. Appears 'Unable' To Influence Israel

LD1403134189 Moscow TASS in English 1241 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Albert Balebanov commentary]

[Text] Moscow March 14 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Albert Balebanov: Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens has wound up his official visit to the United States during which he met President George Bush and Secretary of State James Baker III. According to news agency reports, the talks, which were devoted exclusively to the Middle East situation, failed to produce tangible results.

Ahead of the visit, leaders of several states, among them Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) Executive Committee, appealed to the United States Administration to make a real contribution to the search for lasting peace in the Middle East. But American leaders appeared to be unable to influence Tel Aviv and get it to abandon its non-constructive stance which blocks the entire peace process in the region.

One should note that the White House has made some adjustments in their stance on the problem of settling the Arab-Israeli conflict. However, they resemble cosmetic measures rather than any drastic change.

Full backing of Israel in its confrontation with the Arabs is the key element of the U.S. position. Both the President and the U.S. secretary of state assured the Israeli foreign minister that the United States would continue to guarantee Israel's security and the stability of its economy. This means not only financial injections into

the Israeli economy but also shipments of modern weapons and hardware to Tel Aviv and political support, including at the United Nations, for the futile course steered by the Yitzhaq Shamir-Shimon Peres coalition cabinet.

Hence, Arens' unyielding stance at the Washington talks. The Israeli minister resisted even those minor steps to relieve tension on the occupied Palestinian lands which were proposed by the Bush administration, since he realised that Americans will not sever their close relations with Tel Aviv.

The Israeli minister's visit was a kind of probe before the trip to Washington of Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir, which is scheduled for early April. If the United States fails to exert influence on Tel Aviv during this visit, it will have to share the entire responsibility for preserving tension in the Middle East, which can at any moment spill over into an armed conflict.

U.S. Congressmen Question Soviet Arms Expert

PM1403161789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Correspondent A. Blinov article: "Unusual Dialogue"]

[Text] Washington—"Unusually useful" was how the U.S. congressman termed the session of the House Armed Services Committee he heads.

Congressmen interested in the USSR's initiatives in the disarmament sphere and the influence of restructuring on Soviet military doctrine received the information they needed firsthand. Their questions were answered by A. Kokoshkin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who was invited to the committee's hearings in his capacity as an expert.

"Why has the Soviet Union unilaterally embarked on the reduction of its conventional arms. Could this be a bargaining chip at the talks?" one participant in the hearing asked.

"The new thinking in military questions presupposes steps, including unilateral ones, in the reduction of arms in spheres where one or the other side has an advantage. Clearly, the United States also has opportunities here—in the sphere of air and naval forces, for example. Overarmament does not guarantee security; it threatens it."

"Do you consider disarmament attainable via the sides' unilateral steps, that is, without agreements?"

"Why not, if the conclusion of agreements is being delayed? That was how the arms race developed, entailing excessive stocks in a number of areas, and that is how it can be reversed."

"The Soviet Union hasn't changed its attitude toward the 'space defense shield,' has it?"

"Its attitude remains the same. The 'star wars' program is a venture that upsets the military balance, and furthermore it is an extraordinarily onerous venture."

"Does the USSR Supreme Soviet conduct hearings on questions of military security?"

"On the eve of the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, the Supreme Soviet held detailed discussions on the treaty's content that involved experts."

The congressmen did not always confine themselves to questions. Some of them displayed skepticism and expressed disagreement with the Soviet assessments.

L. Aspin recently visited the USSR, where he met with Soviet scientists. "Our conversations were so meaningful that I decided to invite A. Kokoshkin to a session of the committee's hearings," Aspin said. "As far as I recall, this is only the second time that a Soviet representative has addressed congressional hearings."

The direct dialogue between U.S. congressmen and Soviet scientists will continue.

Akhromeyev Meets Kenneth Adelman in Moscow

LD1403210889 Moscow TASS in English 2024 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 14 TASS—Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev, a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Foreign Affairs, met Kenneth Adelman, former director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and Washington Institute for Modern Studies vice-president, in Moscow on Tuesday.

China

Thai Premier's China Visit, PRC Ties Viewed

OW1403194189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 14 Mar 89

["Report" by station commentator (Kliezhinov)]

[Text] Thai Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan begins a 4-day visit to China today at the invitation of Li Peng, premier of China's State Council. Premier Li Peng visited Thailand in October last year. During their talks, the Thai prime minister and Li Peng will discuss the further strengthening of relations between the two countries and the Cambodian issue.

The following is a report by our station commentator (Kliezhinov):

Both Beijing and Bangkok have pointed out that in the past few years Chinese-Thai relations have been stable in all areas. In the next 2 years the two countries plan to increase their volume of trade to U.S. $800 million. Moreover, in developing their economic ties, they will discuss the building of joint ventures in both countries. The exchange of frequent visits by leaders of various departments in the two countries is evidence that Chinese-Thai relations are stable. For example, Chinese Defense Minister Qin Jiwei paid a visit to Thailand in January of this year. While there, he was awarded a (?white elephant) medal for his personal contributions to the strengthening of bilateral relations, primarily relations in the military sphere.

In mid-February Thai Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila paid another visit to China. It was his 15th trip to the country. Discussions between the Thai foreign minister and the Chinese leaders focused primarily on the Cambodian issue. I want to emphasize that one of the important results of this discussion was the agreement reached between China and Thailand to guarantee that there will be no civil war in Cambodia after Vietnamese troops are withdrawn from that country. China and Thailand also agreed that while Vietnamese troops are being withdrawn, all countries should gradually reduce, and finally end, all military aid to all factions in Cambodia. The two countries reiterated their opinion that a provisional quadrilateral government, headed by Sihanouk, should be set up in Cambodia.

Undoubtedly, Chatchai Chunhawan and the Chinese leaders will discuss the Cambodia issue within the context of the new and realistic circumstances that have emerged over the past few years. The Second Informal Meeting held in Jakarta (?took steps) to eliminate regional conflicts.

Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach has visited Singapore, Brunei, Malaysia, and Thailand in his continuing efforts to find a resolution to the Cambodian issue. Cambodian head of government Hun Sen has written to Sihanouk, who is presently in Beijing. In his letter he proposed restoring the tasks of the work committee of the Khmer Rouge and other factions. The committee was formed by Hun Sen and Sihanouk following their three meetings. Hun Sen holds that an agreement allowing the Cambodian people to resolve the Cambodian issue may be reached in principle.

Before Thai Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan arrived in Beijing for a visit, Sihanouk had already met with Khieu Samphan and Sonn San there. Here I want to add that during his visit to Beijing, the Thai prime minister will arrange to meet with Sihanouk.

Tibet Violence Reveals Rebels' 'Blind Hatred'

PM1403160589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Correspondent Yu. Savenkov report: "On the Situation in Lhasa"]

[Text] Beijing—As already reported, the separatist uprising that flared up several days ago in the main city of the Tibet Autonomous Region has caused serious concern in China and led to the introduction of martial law in Lhasa.

Newspaper observers are expressing alarm: The havoc wrought by the separatists is evidence of blind hatred. Meanwhile, what is needed now is responsibility with a view to rational dialogue and solution of the problems, and also practical steps to rectify the damage done by the years of calamity during the "Cultural Revolution" (1966-1976), whereas, in the opinion of many, the street rioting can only be a prelude to even greater antagonism.

XINHUA has quoted a statement by an officer on duty in one of the streets of Lhasa: "The brutality of the rebels has meant that schoolchildren are not going to school, workers have not gone to work, and stores are closed. Our job is to protect citizens' interests and restore peace to Tibet."

The government of the Tibet Autonomous Region has issued a decree clarifying the state of martial law introduced in Lhasa. All demonstrations, strikes, and meetings are banned, for example; road traffic is under strict control; and foreigners are not allowed within the city limits or the surrounding area without special authorization. Public safety personnel and military units on duty have the right to detain suspects and search places where rebels could be hiding, and have been charged with taking the necessary measures to prevent rioting and arrest provocateurs on the spot.

Assessing the latest events in Lhasa, the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO wrote: The scale of the latest unrest is greater than the disturbances of past years. In the opinion of XINHUA, the events were planned in advance; the violence, arson, and destruction were methodically carried out. At a conference organized by the Tibetan CPC Regional Committee, prominent Tibetan public figures expressed their support for the decision of the PRC State Council and their intention to convey its meaning to every family. The deputy chairman of the Tibetan branch of the Chinese Buddhist Society said indignantly that the actions of the rebels reminded him of the violence of "Cultural Revolution" times.

Northeast Asia

USSR, Japan Begin Salmon Fishing Talks

OW1403141789 Tokyo KYODO in English 1255 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, March 14 KYODO—Japan and the Soviet Union started annual fishery talks here Tuesday to determine Japan's salmon catch quota for this year in the northern waters.

Main topics include a Soviet plan to totally ban salmon fishing in international waters by 1992 and a Soviet proposal for a joint salmon fishing venture in that country's exclusive 200-nautical-mile waters.

Japan will demand an additional quota to make up for the loss of hauls in the 200-mile waters of the United States resulting from a U.S. Supreme Court ruling in favor of environmentalists' call for a ban on Japanese salmon fishing, Japanese sources here said.

The talks—the fifth session of the Japan-Soviet joint fisheries committee—seem to be in for rough sledding as the official Soviet news agency TASS reported on Sunday that the Soviet Union would seek a sharp cut in salmon catch on the high seas this year.

The report said that the Soviets would propose a joint venture fishing in their 200-mile waters to make up for the cut in international waters.

Last year Japan negotiated a quota of 20,826 tons. But the quota was reduced to 17,700 tons since Japanese salmon fishing boats were barred from the U.S. 200-mile waters on the grounds that seals were mixed into Japanese salmon hauls.

Salmon spawned in Soviet and U.S. rivers mingle in the U.S. 200-mile waters.

A Japanese-Soviet joint venture, set up in Sakhalin last year, has received a salmon catch quota of 2,000 tons in the Soviet 200-mile waters.

The sources said the Soviet Union will undoubtedly request an increase in Japan's "fishery cooperation fees," which were pegged at 3.7 billion yen last year. The sum was lowered to 3.35 billion yen after Japanese fishermen were barred from the U.S. 200-mile waters.

'Major Anomaly' Seen in Relations With Japan

OW1503044889 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Interview with (Yuriy Afrimiko), identified as "general secretary" of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, by unidentified journalist; date and place not specified]

[Text] Now we would like to broadcast the third and last of a series on Soviet policy for the Asia-Pacific region. Today's interview is with (Yuriy Afrimiko), general secretary [title as heard] of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations and the Soviet Committee for Asian and Pacific Regional Cooperation [title and organization as heard]. The Japanese translation is read by announcers.

Before going into today's part, however, we would like to review and summarize the contents of earlier series of this program. The earlier series explained the basic principles and objectives of Soviet policy on the Asia and Pacific region, and we saw from them that the principle of the policy is aimed at alleviating political and military tensions, while promoting expansion of economic cooperation in the region. The series introduced you to proposals made and actions taken by the Soviet Union in attempts to reduce the level of military confrontation in the region, and reported that, to the regret of all, the United States has continued to ignore the Soviet proposals in this regard. Now shall we begin today's part.

The first question to Secretary General (Afrimiko) is: What do you think of the prospects for political dialogue in the Asia and Pacific region?

[(Afrimiko)] Good day, listeners in Japan. I would first like to recall the speech General Secretary Gorbachev made in Krasnoyarsk in September last year. In that speech, Mr Gorbachev proposed establishing a public mechanism to review various proposals relating to regional security. I think the realities will eventually necessitate the formation of such a mechanism encompassing the nations in the region. Such important issues as those related to the environment can also be discussed within the framework of the mechanism.

Increases in bilateral or multinational dialogues in the Asia and Pacific region are opening a way to the birth of such a mechanism for objective and comprehensive negotiations. After all, bilateral relations, as well as relations among nations or groups of nations, form the basis for contents of overall relations, and this is why the Soviet Union is so interested in this matter. Immediately after General Secretary Gorbachev delivered his Vladivostok speech in 1986, the Soviet Union began to call for promotion of political dialogue with the Asian and Pacific nations. It also started to ask for the restructuring of economic exchanges with these nations, expanding policies of friendship with them. I cannot say that everything has gone smoothly since, but there is no doubt that much progress has been made.

[Reporter] Can you give an example?

[(Afrimiko)] For example, lately, progress seen in relations between the Soviet Union and China is drawing world attention. A summit between Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping—an event representing the complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations—is scheduled for May this year. The normalization of relations is important for both nations, and for the Soviet Union this is no less important and essential than establishing stable relations with the United States.

Joint actions of two socialist superpowers will naturally have much influence on the international situation, but since both the Soviet Union and China have declared that the improved relations between the two will not bring any harm to third countries, the influence will be of a forward-looking nature. There are possibilities that the

two nations, through joint actions, can make contributions to the United Nations by playing a greater role in strengthening international security. It would be no exaggeration to say that the potential for cooperation between the Soviet Union and China in the area of economy is indeed great.

[Reporter] Intimate contacts made recently between the Soviet Union and South Korea are drawing note. Can you comment on that?

[(Afrimiko)] The contacts started only recently because of mutual interest in possible economic cooperation. It may be too early to talk about the possibility for a realistic result now. We are still in the stage of studying the possibility. But, from the viewpoint of the Soviet Union aiming to participate in the regional division of work, having economic exchanges with a country like South Korea is very important. Generally speaking, it may be possible for us to establish mutual ties of such a nonpolitical nature as economic and cultural relations, while leaving political matters as they are. I think maintenance of the existing friendly USSR-DPRK relations, combined with the development of nonpolitical contacts with South Korea, will help improve the situation in the Korean Peninsula.

[Reporter] Can you tell us about problems the Soviet Union may face in pursuing this new policy in Asia and the Pacific?

[(Afrimiko)] Even though we have started out, we have yet to overcome the international preconceived notion about Soviet intentions in the Far East. On the other hand, the fact that the Soviet Union has for so long placed emphasis on the United States and Europe in its foreign policy is continuing to show adverse effects.

But I must note that positive progress has been made in relations with a majority of nations in the Asia and Pacific region. Probably the only exception to this is relations with Japan. On relations with Japan, I must say that there are only limited activities to discuss, and it would be impossible to deny, or to justify, the existence of a major anomaly in the increasing role Japan plays in the world and in the low level of relations it maintains with the Soviet Union.

This condition is bringing negative effects to the overall situation in the Asia and Pacific region, and joint efforts to overcome this are needed. To judge from Prime Minister Takeshita's recent interview with the newspaper IZVESTIYA, Japan itself is not content with the present level of relations with the Soviet Union and desires to improve them.

[Reporter] How would you say the problems you spoke of are being overcome?

[(Afrimiko)] Speaking from a long-term viewpoint, I must say that it will depend on how fast the perceptions of the nations in the region about Soviet intentions in the Far East occur, and thus how fast economic development in the area can start to take place. In this connection, the Soviet Union has drawn up a large-scale national plan. But the plan has been found to have defects and has been criticized by newspapers. It should be only natural that the plan must be further readjusted. But, I can say that we have before us the task of having to elevate the position of the Far East area in national economic potential. The role of foreign economic exchanges in economically developing this area must be conspicuously emphasized. For this purpose, the government is offering, within the framework of law, special privileges to the Far East area, hoping to give impetus to foreign economic exchanges. For example, the government is planning to create special economic zones in the area, and it is also planning to establish a special agency in the area so it can adjust and promote the foreign economic activities with more flexibility than in other areas.

The issue of finding ways to help the Soviet Far East area develop economically is being tackled aggressively by the Soviet Committee for Cooperation in the Asia and Pacific Region, led by Academy Member Primakov. The committee will seek to join the Pacific Economic Cooperation Conference as a fully-fledged member with complete rights. This will no doubt facilitate the objective of the Soviet Union participating in the system of international division of work in the Asia and Pacific region.

'Team Spirit' Exercises Heighten Regional Tension

LD1403222189 Moscow TASS in English 1934 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Askold Biryukov commentary]

[Text] Moscow March 14 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Askold Biryukov:

There's a reek of petrol over the land of the morning calm again. The Team Spirit-89 exercises are under way in the southeastern part of the Korean Peninsula. These exercises are held every year since 1976. Some 50 thousand servicemen then participated in the exercise. About 200 thousand servicemen are involved in the Team Spirit exercises at present. Not only units of the U.S. corps deployed in South Korea but also units rushed in from the U.S. mainland, from the bases in the Hawaii and Guam, from Japan and the Philippines take part in the exercises. Some 30 naval ships from the U.S. Seventh Fleet, including the Midway aircraft carrier based in Yokusuka, Japan, have been used in the exercises from their first day.

Because of the present world situation, the sponsors of the exercises try to camouflage them and assert that they have a purely defensive nature and pursue the aim of drilling "defensive operations" against "the menace from the north". But the drilling of the landing of naval

and airborne forces, of strikes with the use of weapons of mass destruction attest to the offensive nature of the exercises. This is a dangerous operation fraught with the consequences for peace and detente in the region and being an obvious provocation against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. It leads invevitably to the heightening of tension in the region.

As the current exercises reached an "active stage", the command of the Korean People' Army had to alert all its units. Border troops, the workers and peasants' guards and young guards were also alerted. The exercises, even before they reached an "active phase," resulted in the disruption of North-South talks and put off the prospects for a high-level dialogue between North and South Korea on military and political issues. And it is precisely that dialogue that could prevent Washington's and Seoul's making references to alleged "menace from the north", discuss matters of military detente, of mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments, ending of large-scale exercises, etc. The more so since the government of the DPRK clearly showed its goodwill. It advanced a specific plan of stage-by-stage reduction of the armed forces of the north and south and unilaterally reduced its forces by 100 thousand men.

But apparently neither Washington nor Seoul are going to discuss in earnest the prospects for military detente in the area. They do not exhibit the slightest striving to bring their policy in the region in keeping with the overall tendencies of the improvement of the international climate. What is more, they continue the course at stepping up military preparations. While the current exercises are in progress, it has already been announced that exercises "Pacex" will be held next autumn and will be even more scopeful. Other U.S. allies, specifically Japan, are planned to be involved. And the confrontational nature of these exercises is not concealed.

The latest show of strength by the Pentagon is another challenge to everyone who wants the consolidation of security and stability, and an end to the military confrontation in one of the most sensitive regions.

U.S., ROK 'Dragging Out' Korean Settlement

PM1403082189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Mar 89 Second Edition p 3

[Captain O. Davydyuk "Military-Political Commentary": "Old-Style 'New Policy'"]

[Text] South Korean Defense Minister Yi Sang-hun has resolutely called for retention of the U.S. military presence in the south of the Korean peninsula at least until the year 2000. In a recent speech, the minister particularly stressed that the size of the U.S. contingent will not only be maintained at its present level, but will actually be increased by 600 men during the current year to bring the total to 43,800 officers and men.

At first sight this statement may seem to contradict the South Korean Government's position—the very same position expressed in the 17 January statement by President No Tae-u. This concerned Seoul's desire to improve relations with all socialist countries, including the DPRK, and the possibility of an official meeting with Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Korean Workers Party Central Committee and DPRK president. It also contained calls for the resumption of inter-Korean dialogue in the humanitarian, economic, and cultural spheres and the government's decision to amend school textbooks that have hitherto presented the DPRK as the "enemy."

Of course, all this is very important and generates the appropriate response among both the Korean and world public. However, one is struck by the fact that Seoul has still not produced a single realistic proposal on military detente—the fundamental requirement for stabilization of the situation on the peninsula. After all, it would be logical for a dialogue with the DPRK—the need for which has been so extensively discussed recently by representatives of the Seoul administration—to be commenced precisely on the question of military detente, mutual reductions in armed forces and armaments to levels of reasonable sufficiency, and the ending of large-scale maneuvers, all the more so as the foundations for this are already in place. The wide-ranging plan put forward by the DPRK Government for phased reductions of up to 100,000 men in the North and South's troop levels is just such a foundation. At the same time, the U.S. troops deployed in the South should be withdrawn. Showing goodwill, the DPRK Government has already taken the first step toward reaching such an agreement, and has unilaterally cut its armed forces by 100,000.

But Washington and Seoul are stubbornly striving not to notice these goodwill steps, thus essentially reducing No Tae-u's "new policy" with regard to the DPRK to the level of a propaganda campaign. At the same time, both the 650,000-strong South Korean Army and the U.S. Expeditionary Corps, which has tactical nuclear weapons in its inventory, are being intensively built up and re-equipped. The South Korean defense minister also stated that there can be no question of ending the U.S. military presence in the country owing to, as he put it, the existing "imbalance" in the correlation of South Korean and DPRK Armed Forces. As an additional argument it is noted that a U.S. troop withdrawal would lead to a considerable increase in domestic military spending, which accounts for around 40 percent of the state budget. (The simple idea of cutting military spending through military detente clearly did not occur to the minister). Therefore U.S. troops will have to stay in southern Korea until such time as Seoul "strengthens its own armed forces."

The U.S. side's position in the situation is also typical. It was set out very specifically by General Louis Menetrey, commander of the allied U.S. and South Korean Armed

Forces, who stated: "This is not the time to be discussing cutting the number of U.S. troops in Korea."

The real intentions of both Washington and Seoul can be most clearly seen in their decision to hold the "Team Spirit" maneuvers. The opinion is being unanimously expressed that the "question of a possible reduction in staffs or the abandonment of these exercises cannot be entertained at present." Up to 200,000 U.S. and South Korean servicemen take part in these 2-month-long maneuvers, which have been regularly held for more than 10 years now and have a clearly expressed offensive theme. One of the most important of the different tasks resolved during the maneuvers is the rehearsal of nuclear and chemical strikes against DPRK territory.

All these actions show that Washington, with the full support of the current Seoul administration, is deliberately dragging out resolution of the question of a political and military settlement on the Korean peninsula and stabilization of the situation in the Asia-Pacific region before the end of the millenium.

ROK Unwilling To Spend More on U.S. Forces

LD1403125589 Moscow TASS in English 1231 GMT 17 Mar 89

[Text] Pyongyang March 14 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Zhebin:

South Korea spends more on the maintenance of U.S. troops on its territory than any other country in the world, according to a South Korean Defence Ministry report published on Monday.

The report points out that the maintenance of the 43,000-strong U.S. force cost Seoul 2,219 million U.S. dollars last year, which is 313 million up on the 1987 figure. American bases and other military facilities currently occupy 2,768 hectares of land or 0.31 percent of South Korean territory. In Japan, where 47,000 U.S. servicemen are stationed, this figure is four times less.

The publication of the report was Seoul's answer to Washington's pressure for it to increase spending on the maintenance of the U.S. forces in the south of the Korean peninsula. Its authors point out that the expenses already surpass those of U.S. NATO allies and Japan, and make it clear that the Pentagon's claims for more are out of the question.

The report underlines the need to launch a public campaign to clarify the true state of affairs in this field, the YONHAP News Agency pointed out.

Economic Cooperation With DPRK Viewed

SK1503015389 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Anonymous "talk"]

[Text] This week will mark the 40 anniversary of the signing of the agreement on economic and cultural cooperation between the DPRK and the Soviet Union. At this juncture I will speak of the cooperation between the two countries.

This agreement laid the foundation for cooperation between the Soviet Union and Korea. In addition, it was the first international agreement with the participation of the DPRK as an equal partner in Korean history.

This agreement has played a great role in the development of People's Korea. There are many facts that prove this, and I will take a few examples from among those facts.

The Soviet Union offered (?1.3 billion rubles), free of charge, to North Korea to revive the national economy and has also given [word indistinct] to the DPRK for the machine-manufacturing, metallurgical, chemical, and power industries. And more than 2,000 Korean technicians have been educated in Soviet colleges.

With the help of the Soviet Union, more than 70 enterprises have been reconstructed and newly built. Those enterprises have played an important role in this country's economy. For example, more than 50 percent of power and petroleum products, more than 30 percent of steel products, all aluminium products, and more than 40 percent of heavy duty steel products have been produced in these enterprises.

Trade relations between the two countries are remarkable. One third of all DPRK trade has been transacted with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has exported crude oil, petroleum products, machinery, equipment, cotton, and wheat to People's Korea. And the DPRK has exported magnesium clinker, rolled steel, fiber products, rice, and metal-cutting machine tools to the Soviet Union.

Other forms of cooperation have recently been established between the two countries. One of them is based on so-called offered materials. In other words, the Soviet Union exports natural and chemical fibers to the DPRK, and in turn the DPRK makes sewing-works and turns around and exports them to the Soviet Union.

The second form is that of [word indistinct] of products. In this form of cooperation, the Soviet Union aids People's Korea in constructing the plants for car batteries and small electric motors. In this way, the DPRK exports the goods manufactured by these plants to the Soviet Union. In the end, the DPRK takes complete ownership of these enterprises.

The DPRK has been able to participate in developing the Soviet natural resources deposited in the Far East. With the help of the DPRK, fifteen forestry enterprises have been built. Some timber from these enterprises has been brought into the DPRK, where timber is most necessary.

Recognizing that the scale of economic cooperation between the two countries is not enough, the leaders of the two countries have decided to doubly increase the amount of mutual trade for some years ahead.

Soviet cooperation to develop the DPRK is being expanded. With Soviet aid, the DPRK is constructing the first atomic power plant, a few thermal power plants, refractory plants, and textile plants.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea [WPK] has regarded the strength and development of the friendship between the Soviet Union and Korea as a firm line of the WPK and the Government of the DPRK and as the unanimous will of the Korean people.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Katushev, Philippine Minister Sign Trade Pact

LD1503103589 Moscow TASS in English 0849 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 15 TASS—An official visit to the Soviet Union of Philippine Trade Minister Jose Concepcion ended on Tuesday with the signing of a protocol to the talks on Soviet-Philippine trade and economic cooperation. On behalf of the Soviet side the protocol was signed by Soviet Foreign Economic Relations Minister Konstantin Katushev.

At the signing ceremony both ministers expressed satisfaction over the talks and pointed to positive changes in the development of bilateral relations both in the political and economic spheres. Agreements were reached on the development of foreign trade: It is to increase fourfold by 1992 and to reach 90 million dollars.

A large delegation made up of businessmen, representatives of various firms and organisations, that accompanied the Philippine minister visited various Soviet enterprises and met with senior officials of the Soviet foreign trade association Raznoexport. Agreement was reached with the Soviet Light Industry Ministry on a compensation deal in the sphere of the shoe-making industry.

At the end of the ceremony Katushev handed in to Jose Concepcion a draft agreement on economic, scientific and technical cooperation beween the two countries prepared by the Soviet side. Talks on its signing will be continued.

The Philippine delegation leaves for home on Wednesday.

Sihanouk's 'Impulsiveness,' 'Changeability' Noted

PM1503101989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[A. Krushinskiy article in "Dialogue" feature under the rubric "We Answer Readers' Questions": "Prince Sihanouk Yesterday and Today"; first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Excerpts] "The press frequently mentions Prince Norodom Sihanouk in connection with a Cambodian settlement. Could you talk about him?—Ye. Sidorenko, Kramatorsk." [passage omitted]

Recently the prince has been speaking increasingly frequently of his wish to return home, and he has taken definite steps toward national reconciliation. He has met with Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, three times in the Paris suburbs. The results of those meetings were welcomed by the public.

However, a certain impulsiveness and changeability in Sihanouk's behavior are disconcerting. In January 1988 he announced his final decision to quit the emigre coalition in protest at the killing of his supporters by those of Pol Pot, but a month later he reported his decision to return to being acting president of so-called Democratic Kampuchea.

Many commentators believe that Sihanouk retains his ability to play a role in untying the Cambodian knot. But I would like this role to be constructive.

Near East & South Asia

TASS Statement Decries Kabul Airport Shelling

LD1403183989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1748 GMT 14 Mar 89

["TASS Statement on Afghanistan"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 14 Mar (TASS)—Recently, Afghan opposition groups resumed shelling Kabul International Airport with rockets, as a result of which civilians, including women and children, have been killed and great material damage has been caused. A few days ago, an Aeroflot passenger plane at the airport was damaged as a result of such shelling. It was only a matter of chance that no Soviet people suffered. This action, aimed against the security of civil aviation, is a blatant violation of the basic norms of international law and, in particular, of the International Convention on Civil Aviation.

People in the USSR express their indignation in connection with such terrorist actions. The shellings of Kabul International airport once again show that the irreconcilable Afghan opposition stops at nothing for the sake of its monstrous aims, and is continuing the course toward

bloodshed. Moreover, this is at a time when the Afghan Government is persistently proposing that the fratricidal war be ended and a peaceful solution found.

Where do the rocket shells that are sowing death on the territory of Afghanistan and striking the international airport come from? Everyone knows that they come from Pakistan.

In spite of numerous assurances of its desire to promote a political settlement of the Afghan problem, Pakistan continues to violate its obligations under the Geneva accords and brazenly interferes in Afghan internal affairs.

Responsibility for the above-mentioned terrorist act is borne in equal measure by the irreconcilable Afghan opposition and by those who supply it with weapons. Everyone who really rejects the methods of international terrorism should speak out against such acts.

Afghan Envoy Confident of Military Ability

LD1403151889 Moscow TASS in English 1509 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 14 TASS—The abortive attempts by the Afghan opposition to seize the city of Jalalabad have demonstrated graphically that the central government's forces can well protect the popular system of power, the Afghan ambassador to the Soviet Union said here on Tuesday.

Sayyed Gulabzoy added, however, that the Afghan leadership still firmly abides by the policy of seeking to settle the conflict peacefully.

Speaking at a briefing, he said that the opposition has been able, with the help and involvement of Pakistani Armed Forces and military advisers from the United States and Saudi Arabia, to increase subversive activity over the month since the Soviet troops left Afghanistan altogether.

In the ambassador's opinion, the opposition's attempts to capture Jalalabad aim to create a bridgehead for a so-called "interim government" of Afghanistan and stimulate its international recognition.

He quoted data to the effect that the opposition has lost 3,000 men killed over the past several days in fighting for Jalalabad.

The bodies of four Saudi and two U.S. advisers, as well as 30 Pakistani army malishas [armed tribal fighters], were found among those killed, Gulabzoy said, adding that the Pakistani Government has been out to hush up information about the deaths of foreign military advisers and malishas in Afghanistan.

"According to information at our disposal, two combat helicopters of the Pakistani Air Force landed in the area of Jalalabad around four o'clock in the morning on March 13, carrying a group of military advisers and ammunition for extremist forces," the ambassador said.

"The same helicopters were used to take the bodies of the foreign military advisers killed in the area of fighting back to Pakistan," he added.

Afghan Rebel Backers Preparing 'Major War'

PM1403141789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[V. Shurygin report under the rubric "Hot on the Trail": "Calculations and Miscalculations"]

[Text] When they started the battle for Jalalabad Sunday 5 March, the mujahidin had planned to capture the city by Wednesday and be in a position to hold the first session of their "transitional government" there on Friday 10 March. The leaders of the "Peshawar Seven" were in a hurry to win a major military victory before the 13 March opening in Riyadh of the meeting of Islamic Conference foreign ministers. A military victory, they calculated, should help them win "recognition" and take Afghanistan's seat in the Islamic Conference Organization—a seat vacant since 1980. But now, as before, the upstart "government" can only count on the support of its sponsors. As has already been reported, Saudi Arabia and Sudan have taken on this mission by recognizing it.

It is to be hoped that the progress of the fighting around Jalalabad will finally allow the West to look at the situation in and around Afghanistan more soberly and amend its policy in the region. After all, responsibility for the bloodshed and continuation of the senseless carnage lies with those who have encouraged and continue to encourage the hard-line opposition into adventures, stepping up arms shipments to it, sending in advisers, and compiling plans for military operations. As has been reported, Islamabad has even sent regular units to the Jalalabad region.

Today it is becoming clear just what the West's "crocodile tears" over the Afghan people's suffering are worth. There have been no calls from Washington, London, or the other NATO capitals for a cease-fire and talks. Ignoring the legitimate regime and counting on putting their own creation in power, the patrons of the "Peshawar Seven" are gearing up for a major war in Afghanistan. But life shows again and again that it is impossible not to take the Afghan realities into account. These realities are the legitimate government in Kabul, the PDPA as a powerful organized force, and the national reconciliation course it is pursuing with the participation of all parties—a course to which there is no alternative.

USSR Embassy in Kabul 'Functioning Normally'

LD1503102789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; Ye. Shkirando report]

[Text] Today's reports confirm the fact that there is still a complicated situation in Afghanistan. The opposition is not in a position to carry out big, successful operations, but neither does it renounce its terror. I don't think we should forget those Soviet civilian experts who in difficult conditions are continuing to help the Afghans these days. [video shows shelling from field gun by men in Afghan garb] Ye. Shkirando reports from Kabul:

[Shkirando] We are conducting this report from the territory of the Soviet Embassy to the Republic of Afghanistan. All departments of the embassy are operating. As always, there is a lot of work in the consular department. Interviews with the Afghan populace take place daily except on the day off—Friday. Many Afghans often come here not only to get a visa, but to get advice about certain legal questions. The Soviet diplomats and specialists from other institutions who have remained in Kabul live in a small but fairly comfortable townlet. It is guarded, just as before, by a subunit of the Afghan Internal Affairs Ministry. [video shows scenes outside and inside the Soviet Embassy and in the embassy compound]

[Soviet Charge d'Affaires Ozhegov, identified by caption] The Soviet Embassy in the Republic of Afghanistan, the trade mission, and all their departments and subunits—the total numbers of whose staff presently amount to about 250 people—are functioning normally. We are maintaining normal business contacts with the Foreign Ministry and other Afghan diplomatic corps agencies and public organizations. We are looking optimistically to the future of traditionally friendly Soviet-Afghan relations. [video shows interview with Ozhegov]

CPSU Official Views Arab Issues, Relations

JN1403111489 Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 22 Feb 89 p 2

[By Jamal al-Sharqawi]

[Text] Yuriy Gredonov [name as published] was the guest of the Nationalist Progressive Unionist Grouping Party [NPUG] this week in his capacity as the official in charge of CPSU relations with the Arabs [title as published]. He held talks with party leaders headed by the party secretary general, Khalid Muyhi al-Din. AL-AHALI wanted to know about the Soviet stand on events in the region within the framework of the Soviet view toward the Third World, the issues of peace and war, and perestroyka, which is the occasion for reconsidering views on everything.

I said to Gredonov: Following what has reached us of Soviet policies after perestroyka and Gorbachev's efforts, which clearly concentrate mainly on relations between the two superpowers for the sake of a stable global policy, what exactly is the Soviet foreign policy position on the Third World now?

Gredonov said: In his speech before the UN General Assembly, Comrade Gorbachev presented a program to spread peace in the world. This program gave particular attention to the Third World. The Soviet Union strongly believes that Third World peoples are facing great and complicated problems, which are associated with an underdeveloped economic infrastructure and accumulated debts in addition to regional crises that squander their human and material resources. On another level, the continued tension in the world and the arms race associated with it will exacerbate the direct and indirect damage inflicted on Third World countries. Therefore, it will be in the interests of the world for peace to prevail throughout the globe.

Gredonov went on to explain: For many years we in the Soviet Union have been carrying out radical changes that include all aspects of life after appropriate circumstances were provided for us to develop quickly. As you know, this development, which is carried out on the basis of broad democracy and with direct participation from the broad masses, has forced and is still forcing us to create suitable external circumstances. The changes taking place in our country reflect the nature of our peace-loving, socialist society. On the same basis, we believe that creating peaceful conditions is directly associated with the interests of all peoples of the world. On the other hand, without guaranteeing the legitimate interests of developing countries, there will be no real world peace. We also recognize that any country or people—whether small or large—has its own ability to contribute to preventing war and maintaining peace.

I said: Here, we notice a significant change. Until recently, the prevailing concept in international relations was that the two superpowers—the Soviet Union and the United States—are the only ones who decide on war or peace while other countries in the world do not have much say in this.

Gredonov said: True. There is a more thorough view. We cannot prevent any people from participating in peace efforts. On the contrary, we are very interested in this. It is now the essence of the peace movement. It absorbs and needs every effort.

I said to Gredonov: On this occasion—Gorbachev's speech before the United Nations—he stressed the idea of joint efforts by the international community to solve the Third World's problems after it was known that the burden of the Third World or the world liberation movement has been shouldered by the Soviet Union and the socialist bloc alone.

Gredonov said: Your conclusion is correct. We now believe that the solution to Third World problems is the responsibility of the whole world, and not just that of the Soviet Union or the socialist bloc. The existence of these problems and the failure to solve them will hamper the achievement of anything in the economic, political, or military fields. From a world perspective, we feel that all countries in the world (developed and developing, socialist and capitalist) affect each other. We view the world as a single entity.

I said: Does this mean an end to the theory of division of the world into two camps and the end of possibilities for confrontation?

Gredonov said: At this stage, we believe that the contemporary world cannot be built, or continue, on the basis of confrontation. The opposite is true—that is on the basis of cooperation and integration. Due to scientific and technological achievements, mankind has reached the level where continued confrontation and the formulation of policies on the basis of confrontation will threaten life itself.

Gredonov added: However, I would like to register our principled stand. Our belief in mutual influence and international cooperation among nations with different trends does not mean that there is retreat before aggressive and expansionist policies at the expense of the the peoples and global interests. The balance of interests is a serious slogan that we will not achieve through statements and good intentions, but through active diplomatic action on the official level and international popular diplomatic moves, in which democratic, mass and peace organizations play a significant role. Although we are against isolating any people from the others, we will exert all efforts to encircle aggressive and expansionist policies and conduct.

I asked Gredonov: In your opinion, will the imperialist powers abandon their objectives and methods?

Gredonov said: We will never expect this to happen. However, the establishment of an active peaceful atmosphere will force the imperialist powers to think twice before doing anything. I think that what has been achieved so far in solving many regional crises and conflicts asserts this fact.

The officer in charge of Arab relations in the CPSU went on to say: We view the Middle East from within the same framework. Israel's leaders do not want to solve the Palestine question and the problem of the occupied Arab territories. However, if we look inside Israel, we can see positive changes. Fifty-four percent of citizens in Israel support dialogue with the PLO. International detente and the elimination of tension in the world—in addition, of course, to the Palestinian people's struggle—will create an atmosphere that will encircle those who do not want to recognize facts and submit to the just right.

[Al-Sharqawi] There are some Marxists who believe these policies represent a retreat on the ideological-theoretical level?

[Gredonov] One can assume that there are two methods of conduct in international relations. One is the method of confrontation and the continued arms race and, hence, war. The other is the method of achieving reasonable compromises through negotiations and agreement, taking into consideration the interests of all the parties involved in the relationship, and not just the interests of some while ignoring the interests of others. What kind of Marxist-Leninist is he who calls for war? I cannot imagine what kind of man is he who wants to solve the problems of the world through war while knowing that this way will lead to the destruction of mankind.

[Al-Sharqawi] What about social interests, contradictions, and the class struggle?

[Gredonov] In the end, social and class interests are part of the general interests of mankind. It was Lenin who said long ago that the working class expresses and defends the interests of the whole society and mankind, not only its own. If a nuclear war starts, then what class interests are we going to discuss?

I asked the officer in charge of Arab relations in the CPSU about the Soviet policy's assessment of the current situation in the Arab region. He said: In my opinion, the most prominent and important development in the region is the endeavor to solve the crises that for a long time hampered the natural, correct development of the Arab countries. Many broad social circles are endeavoring to join efforts among these states to solve the problems facing them. These can be summed up in three problems: ending regional crises and conflicts, developing their economies, and preventing foreign intervention in their domestic affairs. It is known that the Soviet Union has always supported the Arabs vis-a-vis these problems, which are in fact inherited from the past and appeared during the national independence phase. The Soviet Union will continue to decisively oppose any attempt to transform the Arab region into an arena for military confrontation or any attempt to draw this region into the expansionist and aggressive plots.

I said to Gredonov: There was one regional Arab grouping—that is, the Gulf Cooperation Council. Today, the establishment of the Arab Cooperation Council—comprising Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, and the Yemen Arab Republic—was announced, while the leaders of the five Arab Maghreb states are meeting to establish a third grouping. How do you assess this new Arab trend?

Gredonov said: In principle, this is the wish of the Arab states, and no one from outside the region has the right to make any assessment. In any case, I believe that any effort, or manner, that will mass and combine Arab resources is constructive and will benefit the region, provided the means to achieve this are secured. Also, it

must be provided that the aim of these groupings is to remove tensions, improve the atmosphere in the region, and strengthen relations among Arab states, and not to isolate or harm any Arab state or to harm other relations that are beneficial to the Arabs.

Gredonov concluded by saying: The Soviet Union always considers the Arabs its friends. Nothing can divide us. On the contrary, there are many common interests. We in the Soviet Union welcome all efforts by the Arabs aimed at finding solutions to their problems, and we wish these efforts success.

East Europe

Politburo's Talyzin Speaks at Leipzig Fair

AU1403151489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Mar 89 p 2

[Speech by Nikolay Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, in the Soviet pavilion at the Leipzig Fair on 12 March: "Socialism on German Soil Is Firm and Irreversible; Speech by Nikolay Talyzin"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Erich Honecker,
Dear Comrade Willi Stoph,
Dear comrades and friends,

Permit me first to thank you, the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and the GDR Council of Ministers, for having invited a Soviet delegation to the Leipzig Spring Fair.

Permit me to personally convey most cordial greetings and best wishes to you, the SED Central Committee, the GDR Government, and the GDR people, on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers.

The Leipzig fair is taking place at a time when the GDR is preparing itself for the 40th anniversary of the founding of its socialist state.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said at the meeting with Comrade Erich Honecker in Moscow in September 1988: "We are pleased that the GDR is approaching this event with great achievements in all fields of social life and that socialism has been firmly and irreversibly established on German soil.

Great Achievements of the GDR Working People

The basis of this success is the working people's comprehensive, creative contribution. We were able to convince ourselves of this at the GDR national exhibition in Moscow from last September to October and today during our visit to the GDR exhibition at this fair.

The Leipzig fair reflects the deepening of cooperation between the countries of the socialist community of states and the consistent implementation of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 11th SED Congress in socialist construction.

Recently the countries of the community celebrated the 40th anniversary of the founding of CEMA. Undoubtedly, CEMA is playing an important role in the development of our countries' economies. The Leipzig fair confirms the successes achieved by the CEMA countries in their economic cooperation.

The Soviet Union traditionally participates in the Leipzig fair—the international exhibition of the achievements of scientific-technological progress. In the Soviet pavilion, above all, the scientific-technological developments of our scientists, engineers, and designers in the field of mechanical engineering are demonstrated.

We hope that during your short visit to the pavilion you have gotten an idea of the directions of technical development and the possibilities of Soviet mechanical engineering.

Comrades, the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference worked out a comprehensive program for the revolutionary innovation of Soviet society and determined the foundations of economic reform and the democratization of social life.

Today restructuring is shaping our life and its main features. The Soviet people link their future to it. The restructuring of our country's economy also positively influences our foreign trade relations.

The decisions that have been made in the field of foreign trade relations are based on the priorities of the overall consolidation of friendship and cooperation. The character of relations between the Soviet Union and the GDR fills us with deep satisfaction. They are relations of firm friendship and international solidarity, which are characterized by concurrent views on the principal questions of foreign policy and socialist construction.

The firm and unshakable alliance between the CPSU and the SED forms the basis of our relations.

Comprehensive Work in Coordinating Plans

This January, the bilateral concept for the development of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the USSR and the GDR up to the year 2000 was signed. It will help us solve the strategic tasks facing our countries' economies, implement the progressive structural changes in industry, and further perfect the division of labor between the USSR and the GDR.

Comprehensive work on coordinating plans for developing our countries' economies in the upcoming 5-year plan is actively under way. For the first time this work is

being done with the broad participation of enterprises and organizations of the two countries. Direct relations between enterprises and cooperation relations are developing, especially in mechanical engineering.

Work on the creation of joint ventures is continuing. The agreement on a joint enterprise for the production of software for office and personal computers and computer workstations will be signed at this fair.

Dear comrades,

The Soviet Union and the GDR are closely cooperating in international affairs and are trying to achieve an improvement in the world political climate.

Joint Contribution to Confidence-Building in Europe

The decisions of the USSR, the GDR, and the other Warsaw Pact states on reducing their troops, weapons, and military expenditures and on the withdrawal of parts of the Soviet troops from the GDR, the CSSR, and the Hungarian People's Republic are an important contribution to mutual confidence-building in Europe. These measures testify to the genuine interest of the socialist countries in reducing military confrontation in Europe and in achieving concrete results in the reduction of troops and conventional weapons.

The world is becoming safer. The new approach to questions of developing civilization, the need expressed so convincingly by Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech to the United Nations in New York on 7 December last year, is asserting itself.

However, constant efforts are necessary in order to ensure that the era of real disarmament, into which mankind has entered with the increasingly prevailing new thinking, is not terminated halfway.

We highly value the GDR's contribution to implementing a coordinated foreign political course of the socialist community of states and to solving the most important problems of international security.

Permit me to wish you, dear Comrade Erich Honecker, you, dear Comrade Willi Stoph, all German comrades who are present, and the GDR people successes in socialist construction, peace, and well-being. May the unity and the unswerving friendship between our peoples and betwee the CPSU and SED continue to grow.

* Polish Officials Discuss Roundtable Talks

WA18070547 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 10, 8 Mar 89 p 9

[Article by Leonid Pochivalov in Warsaw: "Research at the Roundtable"]

[Text] Polish Council of Ministers Chairman M. Rakowski invited the chairmen of the leading USSR mass media to visit Poland for a special meeting with the party leadership and government. The deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, I. Sekula, and PZPR Politburo members and Central Committee Secretaries J. Glowczyk and J. Czyrek found time to visit with the Soviet journalists. They met three times with Government Spokesman J. Urban, and the visit culminated with a visit with M. Rakowski.

I first came to this country 40 years ago and have come here often since then, and each time I have seen the seething of political passions. Probably in no other socialist country during past decades has there been this kind of constant, fevered pitch in the struggle of views and attitudes in the public arena. These struggles have frequently been intense and sometimes dramatic.

This is how everything was this time as well: announcements of daily strikes—even L. Walesa could not control them; more and more impatient articles in the newspapers and on the "blank spots"; meetings of new legal and illegal associations; increased grumbling in waiting lines—the cost of meat has gone up again since the first of March; customs conflicts on the borders; and, finally, the recent events in Krakow, where a group of students defiled the monument to the Soviet military liberators.

And against the background of this long familiar cacophony was the sound of new words, previously unheard of in the normal political lexicon: dialogue, compromise, cooperation, convergence....

"Roundtable" meetings are being held in Warsaw. Such great significance is being attached to them that they are even bring foreigners up to the buildings where the meetings are being held, as though they were one of Warsaw's new sights. At the large table, which fills the entire room, sit representatives of opposing social forces in the country, including the government and the leadership of the former Solidarity, and they are conducting a dialogue about the future of Poland. They are hoping to find mutual understanding.... Realistic attitudes have been observed in the ranks of some of the opposition. It is becoming clear to many that the former confrontation leads to a blind alley.

For 2 days the Soviet journalists had a frank discussion with Polish leaders about the situation in and around Poland. Unfortunately we did not have the opportunity to hear the other side. What conclusions can be drawn from these conversations? First of all, it is necessary to give the discussions a lot of thought and to compare the facts. Not everyone we met had the same opinion, and sometimes we felt that they were not focusing on the same thing. Basically, however, their positions were the same. The country is in need of radical changes—political and economic. Poland has started on a course of returning to the principles of true socialism and departing from administrative-bureaucratic socialism, which has not withstood the test of history. At the basis of the changes is the concept of pluralism. Conditions are being created for the existence of opposition in the socialist

system. People think that this is necessary for the introduction of a new, rational political and economic system, which can exist only amidst a struggle of opinions.

As we were told, the PZPR leadership is aware that the party will have to operate in a largely new way. The question arises of a coalition between the PZPR and the parties close to it in both the parliament and government. They are discussing the question of introducing the position of president, who would stand above parties and social trends. Expansion of economic cooperation with CEMA countries and the West is an important part of the program of transformations. They are hoping to create a new model of the national economy in which many sectors will be encompassed by market relations. A slogan is being suggested: "Freedom, equality, competition." The political reforms bring the possibility of radical economic reforms.

The people with whom we spoke noted that cooperation with the opposition is directed not toward a weakening of socialism, but toward a stabilization of the situation in the country: The roundtable discussion we conducted is an experiment, and its success depends on the maturity of the sides. It is not completely clear whether or not the experiment will succeed. But still we did not sense any pessimism in the discussions. M. Rakowski thinks the PZPR has more arguments than the opposition and that in the future the authority in the country will remain on the side of the leftist forces. In response to a question from a LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent, he said: "The West regards Poland as an appendage of the Soviet Union. The West can loudly praise Gorbachev for perestroyka and at the same time support those forces in Poland that are striving to weaken ties with the USSR. The West's attitude toward Poland is the attitude toward a sick person whose life they want to preserve but who they are not trying to make well."

The people in high places with whom we spoke discussed all of this. But they all emphasized that the search is in progress, that much is not yet clear, that much is just becoming apparent, and that everything depends on the goodwill of all true political forces in the country. Time will tell if this is to be.

Trade With Hungary Reaches R9.2 Billion

PM1403164989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[L. Dekabrev report: "To Seek Better Ways"]

[Text] Despite the drop in raw material and energy prices, Soviet-Hungarian commodity turnover did not fall substantially in 1988 in cost terms, amounting to R9.2 billion, and even increased in terms of physical volume. This was stated at a news conference at the Hungarian Trade Mission in the USSR.

There was also talk of reserves and of interruptions in deliveries. These are partly accounted for by the late signing of contracts, the inconsistent supply of raw materials and components, the inadequacy of commodity stocks, and, in some cases, by a lack of interest on the part of specific enterprises.

With due regard for deliveries made under the previous year's obligations, by the end of 1988 Hungary exported goods worth R4.7 billion, and the Soviet Union exported goods worth R4.5 billion.

It was pointed out at the news conference that it is necessary to work hard in 1989 to fulfill the mutual obligations adopted. It is necessary to seek new ways to strengthen ties by utilizing the diversity of modern market relations.

West Europe

Finland's Sorsa on Kola Development

LD1403172189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0855 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Helsinki, 14 Mar (TASS)—Kalevi Sorsa, chairman of the Finnish parliament and chairman of the Finnish section of the permanent intergovernmental Soviet-Finnish Commission on Economic Cooperation, has expressed confidence that the implementation of an extensive project for the economic and social development of the Kola Peninsula will open up new opportunities for expanding cooperation between the USSR and Finland and will be of benefit to both countries. Sorsa made this statement in an interview for the joint Soviet-Finnish journal "MOSKOVSKIY BIZNES," which has started publication in Helsinki in Finnish, Russian, and English.

I think it is very important, he said, that right from the start of work on the Kola project, particular attention has been paid to its buy-back basis. As far as the practical implementation of the project is concerned, this will basically start in the next decade. Sorsa recognized the well-founded assertion of the Soviet side that Finnish companies take a somewhat egotistical attitude toward the Kola project. Under market conditions, he explained, an enterprise has to be egotistical, as it has to make a profit in order to exist.

Sorsa favorably assessed the activity of Finnish companies in setting up joint enterprises with Soviet organizations, adding, however, that joint enterprise does not eliminate the need for traditional forms of cooperation such as coproduction. In his opinion, the various forms of cooperation should complement one another. Obviously, the entire potential of cooperation cannot be realized through individual joint enterprises.

Sorsa disagreed with the view current in Finland that the crisis now being observed in the local shipbuilding industry was allegedly caused by a decline in orders from

the Soviet Union. Low demand on the market from one country cannot be responsible for the serious position of the industry, he said. The real problem relates to state subsidies, which are paid to shipyards in many countries but not in Finland. This is reflected in the competitiveness of Finnish shipyards.

Summing up results of cooperation with the USSR over the past few years, Sorsa said that, from Finland's viewpoint, the tangible increase in border trade with some oblasts of the RSFSR and with the Baltic republics could be deemed particularly positive. For example, trade turnover with Estonia ahd doubled over the past 2 years. All in all I think that direct trade with various USSR republics is a factor in the overall expansion of commercial relations, the chairman of parliament stressed in conclusion, and therefore is only positive. The more businessmen participate in commercial talks and deals, the more goods are drawn into the turnover.

Swedish Visits to Baltic Bases Discussed

LD1003113989 Stockholm International Service in Swedish 1030 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] We have received the following report about submarine violations from our correspondent in Moscow, Boerje Remdahl:

[Remdahl] Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev indicates clearly that closed Soviet military installations in the Baltic countries may be included in a program of Swedish visits. If we have a decision on a visit, then we can formulate the program, he says. Swedish defense politicians would be given the possibility to have discussions with high-ranking military officers and politicians here in Moscow and also be able to visit the submarine base of the Soviet Baltic Fleet in Latvia in order to obtain more information about the background of the submarine violations of Swedish territory.

Thus, there is interest in such a visit on the Soviet side. The question will be taken up by the defense commission in the Supreme Soviet, equivalent of a parliament, which will now be elected. To a question of whether the Soviet Union has a strategy for retreating from the submarine violations which represent an obstacle in relations between the Soviet Union and Sweden, foreign affairs advisor Vadim Zagladin says that the strategy is simple: The Soviet Union has no interest in Swedish territory. We want nothing more than for the Swedish Armed Forces to obtain evidence of who is violating Swedish waters, he says. Marshal Akhromeyev adds that there is much to indicate that the Swedish Navy is hunting for ghosts—submarines which do not exist.

The members of the Norwegian Defense Committee were told today that the Soviet leadership intends to reduce the military forces in the north by the same percentage as applies to other parts of the Armed Forces. This is a new announcement and an indication that the troop reductions in central Europe will not lead to rearmament in the area around the northern part of Scandinavia.

Latin America & Caribbean

Honduran Military Stages 'New Provocation'

LD1203091789 Moscow TASS in English 0903 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Text] Managua March 12 TASS—The Honduran military has staged a new military provocation against Nicaragua. The Nicaraguan Defence Ministry reports that on March 9 Honduran Army units sprayed heavy mortar and machine-gun fire at Nicaraguan territory in the area of Murupuchi settlement in the northern department of Nueva Segovia. No casualties were reported.

This has been Honduras' sixth armed provocation against Nicaragua since the beginning of March. The Honduran Army has pounded Nicaraguan territory 16 times since the start of this year. The Honduran side's moves to scale up military tension on the border with neighbouring Nicaragua run counter to the agreements reached by the presidents of five Central American countries in El Salvador and aimed at attaining peace in the region.

The Nicaraguan Government has repeatedly stated earlier that Honduras' armed provocations aim to kindle a border conflict between the two countries, which can be used by the United States as a pretext for intensifying pressure on Nicaragua and even for a direct incursion by American troops into the Republic.

Chile's United Left Issues Transition Proposal

Part One

PY1403142089 Moscow Radio Magallanes in Spanish to Chile 0100 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Part one of three-part document released by the Chilean United Left in March 1989: "Proposal for the Transition and Construction of an Authentic Democratic Regime in Chile"]

[Text] The national situation changed when the large majority of the people defeated Pinochet's plan to stay in power indefinitely. The political failure in the elections put the dictator strategically on the defensive; it impaired his base and created a crisis within the regime.

However, despite the differences among the people in power, differences that are in some cases irreconcilable, they have lost no time in letting the country know that they intend to block progress toward democracy. To do

that they intend to protect themselves under the antidemocratic 1980 Constitution and to privatize and denationalize the country's wealth as soon as possible in order to undermine the work of the democratic transition ahead of time.

The people who were defeated in the 5 October plebiscite, and who are responsible for 15 years of abuse, are trying to create conditions in which it would be impossible for the future democratic regime to govern. They are thereby preparing for a coup. Chile is experiencing an unusual situation and [words indistinct] a coup against democracy is being prepared at the highest level of government. Those who advocate a coup are members of the government who have not accepted the idea of leaving government but who also cannot resist the will of the people in the short term. This particular situation will prolong the contradiction between democracy and dictatorship beyond the democratic transition.

It will be the responsibility of the democrats to defeat the advocates of division and antidemocratic ideas. Therefore, the parties that make up the United Left [IU] will independently carry out the IU proposals for transition. They will act in defense of the people's interests and of the democratic changes the country needs.

The parties that make up the IU reaffirm their willingness to do all they can for unity and for the common struggle of the democratic forces to eradicate the dictatorship and guarantee the democratic vote for transition. Unity will be necessary to defeat the dictatorship—in the upcoming elections and in the social mobilizations for human rights and popular demands. The parties will work together to build a real democracy in Chile.

We reaffirm our commitment to involve the people in strengthening and developing social organizations that are basic pillars for recovering democracy. With the power of the people we will thereby defeat the regressive ideas of those who hold power and want to continue in the government.

Institutional Changes

The basic democratic task of the government of transition must be [words indistinct] to fight against the current antidemocratic institutions and to speed up the necessary conditions to build a new authentic democratic political regime. This regime will have to be created through the promulgation of a new constitution. This means immediate reforms to the Pinochet constitution. The main reforms should be:

the repeal of Article 8 and the end of political and ideological proscriptions;
a change in the nature and attributions of the National Security Council so that its protective role is eliminated and the Armed Forces can subordinate themselves to the democratically elected officials;

the repeal of the law that the commanders of the Armed Forces cannot be removed;

clean congressional elections by popular vote under a proportional representative system;

constituent rights for the new National Congress, so that it can draw up a new constitution and submit it to the people.

The process for recovering democracy must conclude when the people have the full and unrestricted right to exercise their own will without limitations or tutelage [words indistinct] or without defeats of any kind.

We estimate that 4 years are required for the executive branch and the future National Congress to lay the groundwork for a new institutional system in which democratic power, based on the will of the people, will be able to subordinate all state organizations.

The basic steps for building democratic institutions [words indistinct] by carrying out two important reforms on institutions on which the current regime is based: the Armed Forces and the judiciary. It is absolutely necessary to eradicate the national security doctrine and replace it with a modern and democratic doctrine and a national defense [words indistinct] which is a responsibility of [words indistinct].

The groups committed to the military concept that denies the people's right to self-determination and universally declared human rights should be removed.

Appropriate conditions should be established for the democratic formation and social organization of the Armed Forces. The Armed Forces should never again be used against the people. The military should be reintegrated into national life in accordance with the objectives of peace, social justice, dignity, and sovereignty—objectives which will inspire work for recovering democracy.

We advocate a new, independent, effective, and democratic police system that can guarantee effective equality before the law, the reign of human rights, and the end of the current abuse in the administration of justice.

This reorganization should allow the removal of the judges appointed by the dictatorship and the creation of a new Supreme Court with its authority coming from the sovereignty of the people.

Carabineros and investigative police should return to their professional police role under the jurisdiction of the Interior Ministry.

Part Two

PY1403160189 Moscow Radio Magallanes in Spanish to Chile 0100 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Part two of three-part document released by the Chilean United Left in March 1989: "Proposal for the Transition and Construction of an Authentic Democratic Regime in Chile"]

[Text] The essence of the democratic transition government is its commitment to truth and justice and its guarantee of total respect for human rights. The complete text of the IU document which was released to the public last week in Santiago is being delivered to you in three daily parts. This is the IU proposal for transition. Today we offer you the second part and tomorrow we will deliver the third and last part.

We must untie the knot of impunity and build an institutional process that will guarantee the basic principles of respect for human dignity.

The main contradiction in the Chilean political situation was not (?defined) on 5 October, and this definition will extend longer than the time of transition.

As for human rights, the IU document proposes: freedom for political prisoners; the clarification of human rights crimes and (?violations); fair trials and punishment for those responsible for human rights violations to which the statute of limitations must not apply; compensation to the victims and their families for moral and material damage inflicted; recognition in the Constitution of the international treaties signed by Chile in the political, civil, and human rights fields; the end of the National Intelligence Center and other repressive agencies, as well as the end of the terrorist gangs that are protected by the dictatorship; elimination of the excessive powers of the military courts; recognition and promotion of all economic, social, and cultural rights of all ethical [word indistinct]; the guarantee of full freedom of the press; creation of a pluralistic (?committee) accessible to all political parties for the cultural development of all Chileans; and the return to their owners of all the media confiscated by the dictatorship.

Socioeconomic Guidelines

The socioeconomic guidelines adopted by the authorities will reflect the government's will, determination, capacity, and efforts to immediately enforce measures that can benefit the majority and that, from the very beginning, should compensate for the current large socioeconomic differences.

The tutelage and control exerted by financial groups on the socioeconomic policy must end. A new economic policy should be adopted that promotes development based on the principles of social justice, solidarity, efficiency, and the elimination of poverty.

We support the workers' demands for the termination of the labor plan and for the increase in the minimum salary, family allowences, and the minimum pension. Remunerations should be readjusted, at least at the rate of increases in the cost of living. Selective and arbitrary dismissals should end, while rules should be enforced for the stability of jobs. We demand the compulsory adoption of contracts and the observance of the rights of workers.

We support the development of small and medium-size companies and cooperatives so that they can contribute to the national progress. We support a just solution to the problem of their indebtedness.

In its educational sector, the United Left document says that it is essential to end the market policy that has devastated the sector and the education of generations. The principle of the right to education must be fully observed. Consequently, the state should grant preferential attention to this sector. It is a vital goal to restore the role and quality of the educational system that was built over almost 50 years of democratic governments. An immediate task will be to increase the budgetary allocations for the sector, leading to a drastic reduction of the current school fees, of the cost of school materials, and so forth, in order to lighten the heavy burden that has particularly affected the more modest homes.

We promote the participation of all sectors in the management of education, especially professors, delegates, and students, in the lower education levels, and total autonomy of university-level education.

In the health sector the IU claims that an essential, priority task will be to restore the system of medical assistance to all Chileans so that the entire population may have access to it like any other utility. The modernization enforced by the dictatorship has been nothing but a disguise, behind which the previous system was totally dismantled and replaced by a usurious, mercantile system, which has seriously jeopardized the stability of Chilean families.

As an immediate step, we demand that hospitals and clinics be provided with appropriate material and human resources. Free services must be provided to those who cannot pay, among them the unemployed, and to those who receive minimum pensions.

In the housing sector, the IU states that an end must be put to the court-ordered auctions and evictions that are promoted mainly by the banks, which, paradoxically, are mainly responsible for the indebtedness of the national economy. Homeowners'debts must be reduced, and the system based on UF's [unit of account adjusted for inflation] must be replaced by a system based on salaries and wages.

The problems affecting camps and overcrowded houses should be solved immediately.

There are funds for solving the most pressing social problems. To this end, the foreign debt problem must be considered from a radically different viewpoint, reducing the excessive benefits that foreign banks and foreign capitals are obtaining from Chile.

The foreign debt will be renegotiated with international financial agencies and with foreign banks. A commission will be designated to analyze the origin of the foreign debt. The state will assume responsibility only for debts that correspond to the public sector.

A policy of consensus with Latin American countries will be adopted, seeking a complete solution to this problem.

An advanced tax reform is necessary in order to eliminate the financial groups that have profited from the dictatorship. The budget of the Armed Forces must be restructured. These and similar measures will allow for the redistribution of wealth and income, the promotion of investment, and the achievement of sustained and harmonious economic development.

The privatization of state-run companies performed after 5 October will be reversed, and those performed before that date will be reviewed, seeking to recover national assets that were sold by the dictatorship and to promote foreign investment under conditions favorable for Chile. It is essential to keep strategic companies under state control and to repeal laws promulgated by the dictatorship to the detriment of the national interest. The irrational exploitation of our natural resources must be ended, wildlife should be protected, and the air that we breathe must be purified. Both the state and enterprises must be responsible for the preservation and improvement of the environment.

Our foreign policy must regain Chilean prestige and international influence, based on a policy of respect for human dignity and the dignity of nations, promoting peace, disarmament, and peaceful coexistence especially among Latin American nations. Summing up, we propose to strongly reaffirm the following principles of the foreign policy of a democratic Chile: self-determination, nonintervention in the domestic affairs of nations, the peaceful and legal settlement of controversies, respect for treaties and for international law, ideological pluralism, nonalignment, support for the just struggle of nations, and rejection of all forms of racism, colonialism, and imperialism.

A fundamental pillar of the transition must be the participation of the people. The broadest and deepest participation by the people will become an insurmountable barrier against regression and should be the main driving force for the restoration of democracy and for the creation of the social power that will be the main foundation of a new democratic system.

Part Three

PY1403182189 Moscow Radio Magallanes in Spanish to Chile 0100 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Part three of three-part document released by the Chilean United Left in March 1989: "Proposal for the Transition and Construction of an Authentic Democratic Regime in Chile"]

[Text]

Popular Participation

1. Special emphasis should be placed on strenghtening workers organizations so as to effectively defend their class interests from the current system of destitution and overexploitation. A strong promotion of labor unions is needed in cities and rural areas, as is the repeal of absurd laws that only benefit businessmen. The role of the working class, of workers, and work itself, will be dignified under a democratic Chile.

These objectives should lead to better and freer living conditions for workers, in accordance with their role of producer of the largest part of the national wealth.

2. A new emergency employment policy will have to be established to create hundreds of thousands of new jobs in the face of current unemployment and underemployment of our countrymen. A large group of middle class people, professionals, and intellectuals live in the poorest shantytowns, villas, and neighborhoods, suffering the consequences of an economic model that was designed to overexploit the workers. We propose to help them get organized so they can join our struggle and express their own demands.

The neighborhood committees will have to become democratized and help the democratization of the municipal councils. The committees have to enhance their strength by selecting their members at popular elections and by incorporating representatives of community organizations into the decisionmaking process.

The struggle of shantytown dwellers for a piece of bread, for a glass of milk, for education and health care, and against unemployment, will be part of the struggle of workers and the people in their pursuit of the same objective: the eradication of the dictatorship and the establishment of a democratic and popular transition period, under which the structural and institutional reforms will take into account the needs of the poor and the have-nots.

3. The democratic state will also help peasants, artisans, and small- and medium-scale businessmen achieve strong economic development and the establishment of forms of fraternal and educational coexistence among the productive, service, and commercial sectors.

4. Professional people, artists, and intellectuals have much to contribute to the scientific, technical, and cultural development of society. The professional associations must be consulted whenever the national interest requires their cooperation.

The university must be autonomous if professors are to participate in formulating educational policy and making the schools more responsive to society.

5. The Chilean youth will a have a decisive role to play in recovering democracy and solving the problems that burden society. We are talking about unemployment, overexploitation, lack of opportunities, and people's rights. These problems are very distressing for youth. Statistics show that the levels of drug addiction, alcoholism, and suicide have reached unprecedented levels under the dictatorship.

The Chilean youth has not stayed idle, however. It is fulfilling a role in the struggle for democracy and the establishment of a more just society. Our youth has the right to participate in the decisionmaking process. Access to education must be promoted by increasing school budgets, by accommodating more students in schools, and by increasing the number of scholarships. Their right to organize as students and workers should be recognized. Their organizations should be represented on the organization boards that decide on youth matters.

The democratic state we propose will return to the Chilean youth the role the dictatorship took away. We commit ourselves to use all our influence and all of the forces we represent to attain this goal.

6. Chilean women have played an essential role in the struggle for freedom and democracy from the very beginning. Women are suffering discrimination and exploitation. They are segregated and oppressed in the legal, political, institutional, labor, social, and cultural fields. The democratic winds blowing throughout Chile will encourage women to end this situation once and for all. We promote a policy that works for equal rights and opportunities for men and women.

We propose the enactment of antidiscriminatory legislation that will prevent anyone from denying women their rightful place in society. We propose a policy by which women will be fully incorporated into the productive system because we believe this is the real basis for their equality. We propose the creation of proper conditions for their participation in cultural and artistic events, equal salaries, respect for their role as mother and protector of their children, and the creation of nurseries and children's playgrounds.

In sum, the people follow their own political experiences when developing their own conscience, unity, and organizations. These experiences will allow for new structures and organizations at the local, regional, and national levels. Society will then become truly democratic.

Conclusion

We issue these proposals because we are convinced that all democratic forces, without exception, will need to cooperate in the democratic reconstruction of the country.

Such a wide coalition will have the strength to effectively defeat the Pinochetist plan to return to power, and to undertake the complete and arduous task of a democratic restoration of the fatherland.

The IU proposal for the radical democratization of the Chilean society is similar to the socialist project to provide social and political answers to the current problems affecting the country. Recent experience has shown that static positions can become undemocratic in time. Our desire is to work to defend democracy and give popular organizations the influence they deserve within state institutions. This way we will create the appropriate conditions for a deeper change in the anachronistic economic alternative facing the nation and we will advance from a democratic society toward a more just and free society.

Signed: United Left Political Committee; Chilean Socialist Party; Social Radical Democratic Party; Revolutionary Leftist Movement; Christian Left; Communist Party of Chile

Santiago, March 1989

Political & Social

Party Plenum on Elections, Agrarian Policy Opens

PRAVDA Preview Sees 'New Hope'

PM1503103089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[Article by V. Lyubitskiy, A. Platoshkin under the rubric "Topical Theme": "An Event of Great Resonance: The Next CPSU Central Committee Plenum Begins Today"]

[Text] The questions to be examined at the Central Committee plenum are at the center of the country's sociopolitical life. First, the elections of people's deputies from the Communist Party are to take place, and the formation of the highest organ of state power of the new type will thereby be continued.

The reform of the political system that is taking place in the country since the 19th all-union party conference required profound changes in the party's own life. In a renewed society, a renewed Communist Party must operate—that is the logic of restructuring, that is the goal set in the well-known CPSU Central Committee Appeal to the Party and the Soviet People.

The people running on the party list for USSR people's deputies have been nominated by the times we live in—they are innovators, creators, people who have confirmed in practice their commitment to restructuring and passed a strict collective selection process at all stages of the election campaign in the party, from top to bottom. PRAVDA has written about many of them and introduced their position, activity, and plans. An outstanding grain grower and a world famous writer, a prestigious politician and a skilled worker who is innovative in his own sphere, a talented scientific organizer and a movie director who has discovered new profundities in the moral study of the individual—all of these, having consented to become candidate people's deputies from the CPSU, take on, along with the party, the enormous responsibility for the future of the planned changes.

To act in a statesmanlike, bold, responsible manner, on a wide scale—this is what the party calls on its nominees to do, along with all of tomorrow's USSR people's deputies.

The Central Committee plenum will discuss questions of CPSU agrarian policy. Some progress is taking place in its implementation. But all of us must be concerned that the agrarian sector of the economy is improving only slowly, while the shortage of food and agricultural raw materials for processing creates social tension in society.

We can see that economic accountability, cost recovery, and self-financing, the contract, the lease system, and other forms and methods of labor organization and incentives are becoming part of agricultural practice. They enable kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and every peasant to become the masters in practice, not only in words. There are many illustrations of this. Various forms of cooperation and agro-industrial integration are producing a marked increase in output and financial resources for the farms of the Moscow region, the Kuban, and Belorussia. The contract and lease systems, including family contracts, have revived many villages in the nonchernozem and the Baltic region.

So what is preventing us from using these innovations more widely? The profound analysis of these questions at the Central Committee plenum and its adoption of effective decisions will do much to determine whether kolkhozes and sovkhozes will be fully autonomous, integrated agricultural enterprises and whether other forms of cooperation and contract and lease systems will be further developed....

A new cause requires not only analysis and evaluations, but also support—moral and material. Appropriate documents are needed to define the rights and duties of various economic formations and their relationships. This will help them to gain confidence in tomorrow, establish themselves lastingly and reliably on the land, and feel that they are truly the masters.

And of course, the countryside is tired of commands. It wants to deal with the consumers of its output directly, not through large numbers of intermediaries. It does not want to waste resources on maintaining them and engaging in huge amounts of correspondence, which is sometimes not only superfluous, but actually harmful to real, practical work. At the same time many thousands of administrators are skilled specialists. They must be found an appropriate place in production work.

Spring is always a time of renewal, a time of hope. New hope for further renewal, which began nearly 4 years ago, is for all of us associated with the next CPSU Central Committee plenum.

Plenum's Tasks in Agriculture Viewed

PM1403140389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Valeriy Gavrichkin report under the rubric "This Week's Events"": "Will the Land Have a Master"]

[Text] A routine CPSU Central Committee plenum will take place 15-16 March to elect USSR people's deputies from the CPSU and discuss the tasks of implementing CPSU agrarian policy at the contemporary stage.

There are two questions on the plenum's agenda. This fact is in itself a sign of the times: The restructuring of the state's political system and radical economic reform are closing ranks, complementing one another. The revolutionary renewal of society, including the success of the transformations in one of the most important links of

our economy—the agrarian sphere—will depend in many respects on the deputies to whom the party entrusts the task of getting its ideas through the country's supreme authority.

A very great deal has to be done here to finally eliminate the food problem. Our countryside has indeed grown tired of edicts, and as in all other sectors of the agro-industrial complex, the new conditions of economic activity require genuine independence for enterprises in both planning and organizing production and in disposing of their output and income. As a creature of the old administrative-edict system, the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee has already displayed its bankruptcy. Moreover, the forms and methods of managing the agro-industrial complex prevailing today conflict with the new regional policy, which is based on granting greater economic independence to republics, krays, oblasts, and other territorial formations. Unbalanced exchanges with cities and the direct result of that—slower development and social neglect of the countryside—are still a serious burden to the countryside.

None of the problems that have been described (although by no means every one has been described) is particularly more or less important—they are all of pressing importance for our future. But I would not be mistaken in saying that every peasant—and not just peasant—is pinning his greatest hopes on the resolution of one of these problems: How can we overcome man's alienation from the means of production and give the land a real master? A great deal, if not everything, will depend on the answer to this question.

While describing restructuring as a revolutionary process, we should all realize that the question of ownership is a fundamental question in any revolution. Let us recall what the political slogans of October proclaimed: Land for the peasants, factories and plants for the workers, power to the soviets, and peace to the peoples. Facts are facts: The leaders of the post-Lenin period upheld few of the great aims of the revolution. By equating state ownership with ownership by all the people and recognizing only its claim to be the socialist ideal, they turned man into merely a day laborer, indifferent to the results of his labor.

So the following question sounds naive, to say the least, today (but is heard quite often): "Bring back the owner? Then what did we have a revolution for...?"

Well, certainly not for the sake of universal apathy at work. The revolution happened to make the working person master not only under the Constitution but also in fact. He is the one who should really be running the state, and he should be vitally interested in making effective use of his power. The party intends to restore the people's status as masters of production via reform, the lease, the contract, self-management for the collective, and economic accountability.

Thus it is a question of the need to combine diverse forms of onwership and types of economic activity in socialist production and above all in work on the land: kolkhozes, sovkhozes, agro-industrial associations, processing enterprises, leaseholders, cooperatives, lease collectives, and citizens' personal subsidiary plots. In short, everything that is sensible and produces the highest results should be deemed advisable.

Of course, it is not enough to merely proclaim diversity in the forms of ownership. This must be given legal protection and upheld with all the might of the party and the renewed state and economic power, because early experience has already shown that new production relations in the countryside are encountering tremendous resistance. The bureaucracy, including the kolkhoz-sovkhoz bureaucracy, is trying to arrange the processes of renewal "in its own style" without giving the new master a chance. That is not surprising because the new masters are eliminating the need for the superstructure that has lost touch with the true interests of the cause.

...Will the peasant finally become the real master of the land? That is the fundamental question which we all expect the coming CPSU Central Committee plenum to resolve—just as we expect it, moreover, to resolve a whole package of problems that have been put forward for discussion. Restructuring is on the verge of a new and fundamentally important step forward.

Elections, Agrarian Policy on Agenda

LD1503081189 Moscow TASS in English 0758 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 15 TASS—By a TASS correspondent reporting from the Kremlin:

The plenary meeting of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, opened by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in the Kremlin today, has approved its agenda including the election of people's deputies from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the discussion of tasks on implementing the party's agrarian policy in the present-day conditions.

The plenum is expected to work for two days. Members of the new congress of people's deputies from the Communist Party will be elected this morning.

At this moment, Valentin Koptyug, chairman of the electoral commission in charge of elections of people's deputies from the party and vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, is making a report on this issue. (Summary of his report is forthcoming).

Gorbachev will make a report on the party's agrarian policy in the afternoon. Debates on the issue will be held tomorrow.

First secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties from the union republics and party regional committees, second secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties, chairmen of the Presidiums of the Supreme Soviets (parliaments) and chairmen of the Councils of Ministers of the union republics, ministers and heads of central departments and organisations, commanders of military districts, candidates to the congress of people's deputies from the Communist Party who are not members of the party's central bodies have been invited to attend the plenary meeting.

A group of secretaries of party rural district committees, heads of farms, lessees, scientists and other workers of the agro-industrial complex have been invited for the discussion of the second item on the plenum agenda, the party's agrarian policy.

Plenum Views Candidacies

LD1503073689 Moscow TASS in English 0722 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 15 TASS—By TASS correspondent:

A plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), which opened in the Soviet Capital today, is to determine who will represent the Communist Party in the Supreme State power body of the Soviet Union.

It must be recalled that, in accordance with the new Soviet electoral legislation, one third of USSR people's deputies (750 out of 2,250) will be elected not by the population but by public organisations the interests of which they will represent. One hundred mandates are assigned by the legislation to the Communist Party.

The nomination of candidates from the CPSU was carried out democratically. Thousands and thousands of primary organiations made their suggestions. The mass particpation of primary organisations is illustrated by the following figure: more than 31,000 candidatures were suggested for one hundred mandates. Three and a half thousand people received support during the subsequent consideration in district and city committees of the party. Then the third 'round' of the selection—at the level of regions and union republics—ensued. In the end, more than two hundred candidatures reached the CPSU Central Committee. Besides, a huge amount of telegrammes and letters from individual communists and work collectives with suggestions concerning candidates came in directly to the party's Central Committee.

The CPSU Central Committee met for a plenary session on January 10, this year, to determine a list of candidates from the CPSU. The list included those who had received the greatest grass-roots support. This applies of all to the leading figures of the country. In the list of candidates from the CPSU are Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the party's Central Committee, Nikolay Ryzhkov, head of the Soviet Government, and other prominent leaders of the party and the state.

And still it is not they who constitute a majority on the list of candidates from the CPSU. Preference was given to the most active representatves of the working class and peasantry. Such an approach, Mikhail Gorbachev said at the January plenary session, "reflects the real composition of party ranks in which workers and peasants predominate."

Among candidates from the CPSU are eight scientists, ten people engaged in cultural activities, two medical specialists and two public education workers. An overwhelming majority of party candidates are people in their prime who are ready for a vast amount of state work.

Over the time that has passed since the January plenum, the candidates from the CPSU have held many meetings in various cities of the country, described the election programme of the party and how they intend to promote its implementation.

Today's plenary session of the CPSU Central Committee is finally to decide on who will represent the party at the congress of USSR people's deputies. Not only members of the Central Committee will determine who will become deputies.

For the expression of opinion to be as broad as possible the January plenary session of the Central Committee decided to carry out voting with the participation of alternate members of the Central Committee, members of the central auditing commission of the CPSU as well as the first secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the union republics, territorial and regional commissions of the party and a number of other leaders who are not the members of the central bodies of the CPSU.

After the election is over, the plenary session will begin to consider the second item on the agenda—on the agrarian policy of the CPSU at the present stage. In the afternoon Mikhail Gorbachev is expected to deliver a report on the subject.

Gorbachev, Others Elected Deputies

LD1503123389 Moscow TASS in English 1229 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 15 TASS—By a TASS correspondent reporting from the Kremlin:

The plenary meeting of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, which opened in the Kremlin this morning, has chosen 100 deputies to represent the party in the nation's supreme body of state authority.

Among those elected to the congress of people's deputies are Mikhail Gorbachev and other party leaders, party activists, workers, farmers and intellectuals.

The chairman of the Electoral Commission, Valentin Koptyug, announced that all the one hundred candidates won the required majority of votes.

Gorbachev, who chaired the sitting, congratulated those elected with the right granted to them to represent the party in the country's supreme legislature.

The plenum's participants adopted a resolution on the mandate to the people's deputies from the Communist Party. The resolution summarises proposals expressed by communists and non-party people in election meetings.

In the afternoon, the plenum began considering the next item on its agenda, the party's agrarian policy in the present-day situation.

Gorbachev Report Summarized

LD1503170489 Moscow TASS in English 1649 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 15 TASS—Without the revolutionary renewal of our society's life, without democratisation and a new ideology of economic management, it is impossible to create a highly efficient agrarian sector, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev told a plenary meeting of the party Central Committee here today.

The plenum is considering the party's agrarian policy.

After mentioning shortages of farming produce in the country and the fact that the USSR is compelled to buy large quantities of food abroad, Gorbachev stressed that one should not think that the USSR never saw these issues and never handled them. There was not a single problem in the national economy to which the Central Committee and the government would have given more attention than to the agrarian one.

Gorbachev analysed historical stages in the development of Soviet agriculture and lessons of agrarian policy and presented the main conclusions from past mistakes and shortcomings.

Gross deviations from Vladimir I. Lenin's agrarian policy and disregard for economic laws, Gorbachev said, brought about great social, economic and moral losses.

He denounced methods of administering by command with regard to the peasantry under the Stalin regime, and emphasised that their ugliest manifestations were power methods and the forced pace of the wholesale collectivisation of agriculture and voluntarist interference in the processes of production, exchange and distribution.

Gorbachev described the drastic transformation of economic relations in the countryside as the key issue of the present agrarian policy. The essence of this transformation should be to give peasants broad opportunities to display independence, enterprise and initiative.

For that, he said, it is necessary to diversify forms of economic management and relations of cost accountancy.

It is necessary to recognise the equality of diverse forms of socialist ownership of the means of production and of economic management based on them. Developing leaseholding in the countryside is one of the most important aspects of this restructuring.

Speaking on the issue of price formation, Gorbachev observed that new, more flexible purchasing prices on farming produce are to be introduced from January 1, 1990. As to the retail prices of staple foodstuffs, they will remain at the current level within the next two-three years.

The Soviet leader stressed the need to radically change the system of running the agro-industrial complex and eliminate the existing administrative system of agricultural management.

The rights of the union republics will be broadened significantly in this respect. As to the national level, he said, it has been proposed to abolish the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee and create a state commission at the USSR Council of Ministers for food and purchases as a standing body.

Dwelling on issues of the countryside's social transformation, Gorbachev pointed out that the gap between village and town has not yet been bridged. Medical, retail trade, cultural and consumer services are worse in the countryside.

Rapid social development in the rural regions is a major prerequisite for the success of all undertakings in the development of agricultural production.

The Communist Party's agrarian policy should be placed on a firm legal basis. The farmers must be sure of the stable and long-term character of the new policy, Gorbachev emphasised in conclusion.

Draft of Union Republics Restructuring Principles

PM1403105789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Mar 89 Second Edition pp 2-3

["Draft General Principles for Restructuring the Leadership of the Economy and the Social Sphere in the Union Republics on the Basis of Broadening Their Sovereign Rights, Self-Management, and Self-Financing"]

[Text] The USSR is the greatest gain of October, a unique state formation in world civilization.

In a short space of time our country's nations and ethnic groups have through united efforts implemented major transformations in all spheres of the life of Soviet society and in developing and siting productive forces, ensured the economic and social progress of the union republics, and shaped a unified economic complex. The achievements of every union republic embody the results of the entire country's labor and the mutual assistance of the fraternal peoples.

At the same time at a certain stage democratic principles in the leadership of the economic and social sphere in the union republics were substantially deformed and their sovereign rights were not duly exercised. Administrative-edict and bureaucratic management methods prevailed, many functions were tied up in the center, and the diktat of union ministries intensified. The departmental approach to siting productive forces, the lack of a mechanism to ensure the comprehensive development of the territories' economy, and the narrowing of the economic base and the republics' rights created disproportions between the production and social spheres, complicated the environmental situation in a number of regions, exacerbated the problems of regions with either a manpower surplus or a manpower shortage, and provoked the irrational migration of the population. All this led to the slackening of republics' and regions' responsibility for and interest in the end results of the economic activity undertaken by enterprises, associations, and organizations located on territory under their jurisdiction and limited their chances of improving the population's living conditions.

One of the key tasks of the revolutionary renewal of Soviet society posed by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference is to smash these negative trends, revive Leninist principles of democratic centralism in management, and substantially broaden the rights and boost the responsibility of the republics and local soviets for the economic and social development of the regions and the country as a whole.

Right now the economic and legal foundations for the economic independence of state enterprises and cooperative organizations have been created, the principles of self-management and self-financing are being consistently introduced into their activity, and the interests of labor collectives are being given legal protection. In developing and deepening economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] relations in the basic link of social production as the main avenue of economic reform, the next step in the assertion of these principles must be taken—they must be extended to the sphere of territorial economic management, the republics' economic independence must be broadened, rational distribution of powers between union, republic, and local organs must be ensured, and a legal mechanism must be devised to defend the regions' interests.

These tasks must be implemented in indissoluble linkage with the reform of the political system now under way, the revival of the sovereignty of the soviets, and the resolution of pressing problems of harmonizing interethnic relations, which will make it possible to give real substance to the sovereignty of every union republic to an even greater extent.

All economic, legal, and organizational work to ensure the transition of the union republics and regions to self-management and self-financing must be implemented in such a way as to ensure that we enter the 13th 5-Year Plan with a qualitatively new mechanism of territorial management. This will be an important phase in the development of the economic and political reforms. As they are deepened and experience is accumulated, the system of territorial economic activity will be consistently improved in accordance with the basic principle of Soviet federalism—a strong center and strong republics.

I. Principles and Guidelines for Restructuring the Management of the Socioeconomic Development of the Union Republics and Regions Within the Unified National Economic Complex

1. The restructuring of the management of socioeconomic development in the republics and regions must be subordinated to the attainment of the strategic goal of ensuring the comprehensive renewal of our society and ensuring a new quality of life for Soviet people based on an increase in production efficiency.

On this premise, the reorganization of territorial management must be geared to resolving the following most important tasks:
—in the sphere of social development—creating conditions to ensure that the people's material and spiritual needs are met in the fullest way possible, that the socialist principle of remuneration in accordance with labor and social justice in the distribution of social consumption funds is strictly implemented, that the population's rational employment is ensured, that the population's cultural level and the workers' professional skill are increased, that the residential environment is improved, and that the interests of national and territorial formations are harmonized;
—in the sphere of economic development—the comprehensive and effective utilization of the republics' and regions' production, scientific and technical, and intellectual potential, the thrifty use of natural resources, the implementation of a progressive resource-saving policy, an increase in the productivity of social labor, improvement in output quality to match top national and foreign levels, active participation in integration processes based on deepening the intraunion division of labor and the formation of a single socialist market, and comprehensively reinforcing economic methods of leadership and the socialist system of economic management.

2. In implementing social and economic policy in the republics it is necessary to consistently implement the line of linking the aims and tasks of the regions' development and that of the country as a whole, and of

combining the centralized solution of strategic questions of importance for the entire economic complex with republics' initiative, independence, and responsibility for developing the economy and the social sphere on their territory. The practical implementation of these requirements, the clear demarcation of central and local functions, their rights, and the spheres of their activity, and the formulation of a mechanism to coordinate union, republic, and local interests when resolving both economic and regional problems will give democratic centralism a new, contemporary look.

3. The further strengthening and development of state ownership as the common property of the entire Soviet people is the reliable economic foundation for consolidating the multiethnic Soviet state and harmonizing the interests of union republics and regions and national and social groups within the population. At the same time the democratization of economic leadership necessitates an improvement in the forms and methods of managing socialist property at all levels on the basis of the diversity of its forms and the opportunities for its effective utilization.

The broadening of enterprise and cooperative property rights under the USSR Laws on the State Enterprise (Association) and the Cooperative System was a major step in this direction. It has now become necessary to grant union republics and regions new rights—and legislatively enshrine these rights—with regard to the administration of property and natural resources as a crucial prerequisite for the restructuring of the leadership of their economy and social sphere on the basis of self-management and self-financing.

4. Self-management presupposes the democratization of the entire system of economic leadership, the substantial broadening of the sphere of union republics' and regions' independence and autonomy in economic activity, the allocation to them of broad rights in resolving the problems of the territories' economic and social development, consideration for and realization of the interests of all national groups and social strata, and the active participation of the population and its representative organs in management.

Self-financing means that the development of the republics and regions is effected mainly via earned income, and that their financial resources depend directly on the effectiveness and end results of the work of all enterprises and organizations on their territory. This creates the requisite preconditions for shaping a reliable material and financial base for the republics and regions and increases their interest in improving economic activity and deepening interrepublic integration processes as the basis of their own prosperity and the augmentation of the wealth of the Soviet state.

5. Leadership of the economy and the social sphere of union republics based on principles of self-management and self-financing, being a regional expression of the economic accountability principles of the restructuring of the management of the national economy, is designed to serve as a strong link in the whole radical economic reform. It is aimed at ensuring close dependence of the level of the prosperity of the population of union republics and regions on intensification of production and the end results of their economic activity and contribution to the country's overall development and it creates the opportunity for regional factors of economic growth to be fully revealed and utilized.

At the same time, when the republics switch to these principles and when a specific mechanism for their implementation is elaborated, it is essential to take account of the following very important requirements.

First. The new conditions of economic activity in union republics should be implemented in such a way as to ensure and affirm the sovereignty [polnovlastiye] of local soviets of people's deputies as the main link in self-management by the people, the true masters on their territory. This means that self-management and self-financing cannot be limited to the union republic level but should also be carried out in autonomous formations and administrative-territorial units. It is therefore required that the powers of soviet organs at local level be expanded simultaneously with the delegation of functions and rights from the center to republics.

The transfer of these functions and rights to autonomous republics and to kray, oblast, okrug, city, and rayon soviets should guarantee their powers in managing their respective enterprises and economic facilities, forming budgets, determining incomes and areas of expenditure, and should expand their competence in the sphere of planning, capital construction, material-technical supply, nature conservancy, and foreign economic activity. The expansion and legal enshrinement of the powers of local soviets are envisaged in the draft USSR Law on Local Self-Management and the Local Economy which is under preparation, the initial premises of which have been coordinated with the General Principles.

Second. The enhancement of the economic autonomy of territories should not encroach upon the economic accountability rights of the basic production tier—enterprises and associations—or lead to the administrative-injunction-based diktat of union ministries being repaced by the diktat of republic and local organs. They must build relations with state and cooperative enterprises in strict accordance with the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) and the USSR Law on the Cooperative System and do their utmost to further the exercise of their rights.

Third. Restructuring of the territorial leadership presupposes the development and strengthening of horizontal ties among republics, regions, and sectors and the expansion of the range of economic relations covered by these ties by creating qualitatively new forms of them, in particular, joint enterprises, the organization of commodity exchange, and the implementation of interregional nature conservancy and other measures. The aforementioned mutual relations should be based on equitable contractual principles which most fully accord with the principles of self-management and self-financing.

II. Expanding the Sphere of Economic Activity and Enhancing the Economic Autonomy and Responsibility of Union Republics

1. The provision of a well-substantiated definition of the spheres of union republics' economic activity that ensures effective demarcation of the functions and objects of management between the center and the localities is the key question in expanding the economic autonomy of union republics and democratizing management. The implementation of this task should be based on the principles of the political and economic reforms and take account of the following initial premises:

—the expediency of maximum concentration of leadership of the social sphere, construction, and nature conservancy activity in republic organs and local soviets, where the demands of the population may be most fully expressed and effective ways of meeting them determined while ensuring a statewide approach to the solution of the most important problems of Soviet people's lives;

—the need to manage at union level those production complexes and sectors which are of crucial significance in the functioning of the country's economy as an integrated whole;

—the need to further deepen the intraunion division of labor, and the specialization and cooperation of the republics' economies, and interrepublic and interregional integration as an objective logical concomitant of the strengthening and enhancement of the effectiveness of the USSR national economic complex and the formation of a single unionwide socialist market;

—the implementation of statewide policy in solving problems of such vital importance for the whole of society as the social reorientation and structural restructuring of the national economy, the implementation of state targeted scientific and technical programs, the strengthening of the financial and credit system and monetary circulation, and the foreign economic activity and defense capability of the country;

2. Given this, there arises the need to expand the sphere of economic activity of the republics and regions and to concentrate at their level the leadership of the production of food and industrial consumer goods, the services sphere, regional production infrastructure, the construction complex, and nature conservancy and other kinds of activity which are directly bound up with people's everyday lives.

To strengthen the material base of the union republics' economies it is proposed to transfer to their jurisdiction enterprises of the agro-industrial complex, light industry, construction, the construction materials industry (save for that of unionwide significance), trade, the timber, pulp and paper, and wood processing industry, excluding the basic timber-producing republics. This requires a clarification of the functions, the reorganization, and, where need be, the abolition of the USSR Ministry of Light Industry, the USSR Gosagroprom, the USSR State Committee for Forests, the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, the USSR Ministry of Ministry of Grain Products, the USSR Ministry of Trade, and a number of construction complex ministries. The transformed ministries and departments must in their new capacity concentrate their activity mainly on carrying out scientific and technical policy, determining the prospects for sectorial development, and solving unionwide tasks and organizational and methodological questions.

It is also expedient to transfer union-status enterprises of other sectors specializing in consumer goods production to the jurisdiction of republics as the necessary prerequisites are created. The transfer of enterprises producing technically complex industrial goods involving extensive intrasectorial cooperation and a well-developed network of in-house servicing may be carried out on the initiative of a republic only where conditions guaranteeing their normal functioning are in existence.

The leadership of facilities of regional production infrastructure that ensure the steady operation of all enterprises on the territory—intersectorial production, power generation and water supply, communications, warehousing, the transport service, the provision of utilities for production zones and for areas of new housing construction, and municipal sewage treatment plants—are also being concentrated in republic and local organs.

It is proposed to concentrate the management of the sectors of housing and municipal services, consumer services, local transport, health care, training, education, culture, tourism, and other sectors directly serving the population of a given republic fully within the jurisdiction of republic organs and local soviets. The subordination of these sectors' enterprises and organizations to republic and local organs is determined by union republics in line with the legislation on local self-management and the local economy.

It is necessary to define more precisely the functions of the relevant union republic ministries, departments, and organizations, and their interrelations with republic organs. Here questions of maintaining leadership at union level of separate sociocultural facilities of nationwide status are to be solved by the USSR Council of Ministers on the recommendation of USSR ministries (departments) and republics.

3. The expansion of the sphere of economic activity and enhancement of the responsibility of union republics presupposes their provision with requisite powers in organizing management. It is expedient that they independently determine the composition and structure of the organs of economic management, the number of their workers, expenditure on upkeep, and the subordination of enterprises in terms of the levels of management.

Questions of the creation on republic territories of management organs for enterprises and organizations under union jurisdiction should be resolved in coordination with the republic in question.

4. In accordance with the tasks for strengthening the unified national economic complex and ensuring its dynamic and stable development at union level leadership shall be maintained of:
—sectors in the fuel and energy, metallurgical, and machine building complexes, the chemical, medical, microbiological, timber, and pulp and paper industries (for the main timber-procuring republics), and geology and prospecting;
—defense sectors;
—enterprises and organizations under the jurisdiction of specialized construction ministries;
—and all-union systems of rail, maritime, air, and pipeline transport, information science, and communications.
Certain enterprises in the aforesaid complexes and sectors working mainly to meet a region's needs may be transferred to republic jurisdiction. On the recommendation of republics and USSR ministries (departments) it would be expedient to entrust the resolution of these issues to the USSR Council of Ministers' standing organs running national economic complexes.
At the same time, union republics—with a view to meeting the economy's needs and developing production-sharing ties in order to expand reciprocal deliveries—may set up under their own jurisdiction individual enterprises operating in [po profilyu] the aforesaid sectors.

5. While differentiating spheres of economic management between union and republic organs, we must bear in mind the fact that currently a fundamentally new direction is taking shape in the organization of economic activity—the creation of enterprises of nondepartmental status which do not form part of the system of all-union and republic ministries and departments, in the shape of intersectorial (interrepublic or union-republic) economically accountable associations, joint ventures with foreign firms, consortiums, associations of enterprises, or other progressive forms of production organization. The nature of the ties between such associations and the system of territorial self-management and self-financing, and their cooperation with both union and territorial management organs shall be determined by USSR and union republic legislation.

6. Under the conditions of the expansion and deepening of commodity-money relations, the shaping of an integrated socialist market, and its organic inclusion in the planned national economic management mechanism, union organs shall retain all-state functions in regulating budgetary, financial, credit, and monetary systems and determining policy in the sphere of price formation, wages, employment, social welfare, foreign economic activity, state accounting, and standardization.

7. As a result of the implementation of the proposed measures to expand the sphere of economic management of the union republics and regions the management of virtually the entire social sphere along with the regional production infrastructure will be placed under the direct jurisdiction of union republics and regions. According to preliminary calculations the output of industrial enterprises wholly under the jurisdiction of the republics and regions as a proportion of overall total industrial production will increase from 5 to 36 percent on average for the USSR, with the increase being from 4 to 27 percent for the RSFSR, from 5 to 42 percent for the Ukrainian SSR, from 7 to 49 percent for the Belorussian SSR, from 6-10 to 50-71 percent for the Transcaucasian republics, from 7-9 to 57-72 percent for the Baltic republics, from 7-10 to 50-73 percent for Central Asia and the Kazakh SSR, and from 8 to 75 percent for the Moldavian SSR.

III. Strengthening the Union Republics' Financial Base and Budgets

1. The transition of the republics to self-management and self-financing requires fundamentally new approaches to the shaping of a system of financial relations and the budgets of the union republics and the country as a whole.

The current expenditure mechanism for shaping union republic budgets leaves them no incentive to develop their own financial base or to run the economy efficiently. Republics' rights with regard to the utilization of budget funds are limited.

The main thing in restructuring the financial and budgetary mechanism is, while maintaining the unity of the budgetary system, to make the union republics genuine masters of their budgets, to substantially strengthen their financial base, to give them wide-ranging powers in planning and implementing budgets on the basis of the normative-economic and legal regulation of the budgetary process in the country, and to ensure the speediest improvement of finances.

2. A radical reorganization of the entire system of shaping USSR State Budget income and expenditure is needed to resolve this task. It should include:

—the clear differentiation of income entering republic budgets and the union budget, and expenditure carried out in each link of the budgetary system;

—the retention within republic budgets above all of those sources of income directly dependent on the efficient management and work of their respective economies;

—the compulsory payment to republic budgets (including local budgets) of some of the profits (income) earned by enterprises under union jurisdiction located on their territories (with a substantial increase in the size of the payments), and the compulsory payment to the union budget of some of the profits (income) earned by all republic-sector enterprises and local-sector industrial enterprises, seeing these payments as a way of implementing the nationwide nature of state ownership;

—and the shaping of each budget's income on the basis of long-term normatives with a clear definition of the rights of the appropriate organs of power to lay down such normatives.

The application of these principles rules out the need to annually regulate union republic budget income by making deductions from all-union state income and taxes, guarantees that union organs will not interfere in the republics' budgetary process, gives the republics a vested interest in boosting budgetary resources, and enhances their responsibility for strengthening the country's financial system.
Relations between republic and local budgets regulated by USSR and union republic legislation should be based on similar principles.

3. It is proposed that union republics' budgetary income should include:
—payments from the profits (income) earned by enterprises and organizations of their respective economies (payment for production capital, profits tax) with the exception of profits paid into the union budget;
—the total payment for land, water, and labor by all enterprises and organizations located on republics' territories. It is planned to introduce payments by tourist resort establishments for the use of natural resources and general resort infrastructure facilities; this payment is to be made to the republic (local) budget;
—total state taxes on the population;
—all local taxes and fixed charges on the population, as well as taxes on cooperative enterprises and social organizations;
—payments from the profits (income) earned by enterprises and organizations under union jurisdiction (payment for production capital, profits tax). These are a firmly fixed proportion, identical for all republics and enterprises, of the total of such payments established on a long-term basis by the USSR Supreme Soviet. According to preliminary assessments, this proportion may amount to around 40 percent of all payments from the profits of enterprises under union jurisdiction, and their payments as a proportion of the total income received by union republic budgets will increase from 2 percent at present to approximately 20 percent;
—some turnover tax as a firmly fixed proportion—identical for all republics and enterprises, and established on a long-term basis by the USSR Supreme Soviet—of total tax revenue on the republic's territory. During the transitional period (the 13th 5-Year Plan) it is proposed as a temporary measure to differentiate by republic the proportion of turnover tax payable into republic budgets in order not to destroy the budgetary income and expenditure base existing in the first year. The USSR Supreme Soviet shall ratify this proportion as identical for all the years of the 13th 5-Year Plan.
For the purposes of the economically validated distribution by union republics of turnover tax on individual types of goods it is proposed to introduce in 1991 a procedure whereby a part of the turnover tax on cotton and woolen fabrics, tricot, and goods made from them, sheepskin and fur goods, tobacco, and wine products, realized in the end product, is transferred in proportion to labor costs to the budgets of the union republics where the relevant raw and semifinished materials are produced;
—export revenue and customs revenue of union republics' organizations;
—other receipts and payments in accordance with USSR and union republic legislation.
To ensure the accelerated solution of urgent social problems in the republics and regions where the level of satisfaction of demand for individual types of goods and services lags, for objective reasons, considerably behind the average for the country and the normative requirements, it is proposed to use a system of financing from the union budget in the form of grants and subsidies set at firm amounts and having, as a rule, a targeted character. When determining the scale of grants and subsidies for the 13th 5-Year Plan the initial socioeconomic conditions of the union republics must be taken into account.

4. Union budget revenue will include:
—payments from the profit of enterprises and organizations of union jurisdiction except for that part transferred to union republics' budgets;
—payments from the profit (payment for production capital and profits tax) of enterprises under the republics' jurisdiction at a firmly fixed long-term and uniform rate set by the USSR Supreme Soviet (approximately 5 percent of the sum of payments for local-sector industrial enterprises and 10 percent for all enterprises under republic jurisdiction);
—rental [rentnyye] payments included in prices for individual types of raw material resources and goods;
—revenue from the foreign economic activity of organizations under union jurisdiction;
—turnover tax except that part transferred to the budgets of union republics;
—other revenue paid into the union budget in accordance with USSR legislation.

5. Enterprises which, by their status, do not belong to the system of a given ministry or department, first and foremost those such as intersectorial state production associations, various types of amalgamations [obyedineniye] and associations [assotsiatsiya], including those created in conjunction with foreign firms, are to make payments both to the union budget and to the republic and local budgets in accordance with the long-term normatives prescribed for them.
An enterprise (association) which has branches and structural units on the territory of other union republics and which makes a centralized payment to the budget in its own locality is obliged to pay the corresponding part of the payments to the budget in the locality of the branches and structural units.

6. For the purpose of expanding the independence of union republics in the formation and implementation of their budgets it is proposed to grant them the following additional rights in the definition of the budgets' revenue base:
—to establish for the enterprises of their respective economies rates of profit tax and normatives of payment for labor resources, land, and water for all enterprises,

including those of union jurisdiction, with the right to grant them benefits and discounts where necessary. In this process, rates of payment for land, water, and labor resources must be set on the basis of the all-union methodology, be differentiated by individual regions (rayons) or republics dependent on the economic evaluation of the land, water, and labor supply, and be uniform and stable for all the enterprises of a given region (rayon), including those of union jurisdiction;

—to independently introduce new taxes and charges and repeal the existing local taxes and charges, and to determine the procedure for their introduction and repeal;

—to establish on the basis of all-union methodological principles and USSR law rates of taxation of the population (apart from income tax) and rates of taxation on the incomes (profit) of cooperative and other social organizations, as well as concessions on those taxes;

—to attract additional financial resources, to create extrabudgetary funds (at the disposal of republic and local organs) using the budget resources of the population and enterprises by issuing bonds, raising republic and local loans and holding lotteries with monetary and other prizes, by voluntary contributions from enterprises and citizens, and other sources. The aforementioned funds also include sums levied from enterprises for pollution of the environment and the noncomprehensive utilization of raw materials.

7. The precise demarcation of expenditure realized from union republic budgets and the union budget is of fundamental importance for the republics' switch to self-financing.

It is envisaged that the union republics will through their budgets:

effect centralized capital investments in the construction or expansion of production facilities within their respective economies and of the infrastructure at republic and local level, urban transport (including the subway), republic and local highways, apartment blocks, preschool institutions, schools, hospitals, polyclinics, clubs, and other social, cultural, and consumer facilities;

finance the equipping of cities and workers' settlements, the upkeep and repair of the housing stock, health, scientific, educational, cultural, and social security establishments, and nature conservancy measures within the framework of republic programs;

compensate for the difference in price for meat and dairy products, sugar, and canned fruit and vegetables consumed in the republic as well as the amount of discount on retail prices, the amount by which wholesale prices exceed retail prices, and the differences in prices for raw materials for light industry;

pay for the upkeep of republic and local organs of power and administration;

and form the reserve fund of the republic's council of ministers.

Union republics may use their budgets to finance other spending on economic and social development.

Union republics independently determine the areas of use of budget resources, the composition, scale, and priority of budget spending, including reserve funds, in accordance with their rights and the law on local self-management and the local economy.

Appropriations for the payments of pensions to nonworking pensioners and allowances to underprivileged families are transferred to the budgets of the republics from the state social insurance budget.

8. On the basis of the unity of the economic and political tasks of our multinational state, union budget resources are to be used to finance spending on the development of base and defense sectors, the all-union systems of transport by rail, sea, air, and pipeline, data processing and communications, geological prospecting work, and union highways, on the fulfillment of state socioeconomic, scientific and technical, and environmental programs and targeted programs for equalizing the economic and social development of individual republics and regions, on compensating for price differences for output used for all-union needs, financing fundamental scientific research, the upkeep of organs of power and administration of the USSR, foreign policy activity, and the defense of the country. A USSR Council of Ministers reserve fund is to be formed within the union budget.

9. In conditions of self-financing, union republics are granted the right within the limits of the resources earned:

to increase spending (above the centrally established norms) on the upkeep of health care, educational, cultural, and sports establishments;

to fix spending on the upkeep of union republic organs of power and management.

To provide the financial resources for the spending envisaged by the republics in the economic and social development plans they may use bank credits and also resources from the union budget and the budgets of other union republics on terms of reimbursement and payment [vozvratnost i platnost].

10. In connection with the planned change in the formation of the republics' budget income and expenditure, it is necessary to make significant adjustments to the procedure of financial and budget planning. Union republics will independently draw up their own budgets. After the union republic state budgets have been ratified in the prescribed manner they are to be submitted to the USSR Council of Ministers and form part of the USSR State Budget.

To enhance the union republics' independence and responsibility for forming and implementing their budgets it is proposed to establish that they retain entirely at their disposal the additionally received income (or saving in expenditure, including with regard to centralized state capital investments). Losses in income and additional expenditure are not compensated for by the union budget. The free residue of republic and local budget

funds is not liable to be confiscated at the end of the year but is utilized the following year for purposes defined by the appropriate soviets of people's deputies.
The procedure for drawing up and implementing republic budgets is defined by union republic legislation on the basis of the unified principles of budget planning and funding.
The delimitation of income and expenditure in the union republic's budget among the republic budget, the budgets of autonomous republics, and local budgets is defined by union republic legislation (unless laid down differently in USSR legislation for individual types of income) with due regard to the need for maximum strengthening of the financial base of territorial formations and observance of USSR and union republic legislation on local self-management and the local economy.

11. To ensure the stability of republic budgets it is planned that, in the event of the promulgation of USSR legislative acts and USSR Council of Ministers decisions which bring about an increase in expenditure or a reduction in the income of union republic budgets, these budgets are reimbursed from the union budget; with a drop in expenditure or an increase in income in the union republic budgets, corresponding sums are transferred to the union budget. Similar guarantees also extend to the union budget: They are to protect the interests of the union budget when legislative acts and government decisions are adopted by the union republics which entail a change to income or expenditure in the union budget.

12. The restructuring of the budget system will require an improvement in financial planning. It seems expedient to draw up within the economic and social development plan in the union republics a consolidated financial balance to include resources and areas of their utilization for all enterprises on the territory.
With the substantial broadening of the union republics' economic independence they bear enhanced responsibility for the balanced nature of the population's monetary income and expenditure, the strengthening of monetary circulation, and the fulfillment of cash plans. In this connection it is proposed to grant them the right to regulate monetary circulation by means of the circulating cash reserve within the month and also to use during the year the saving made on emission results in the preceding quarters. It is necessary to enhance the role of the balance of the population's monetary income and expenditure in cash regulation. The USSR Council of Ministers retains the right to organize the emission of money.

13. The improvement of territorial credit planning is also a necessary condition of the republics' activities on the principles of self-management and self-financing.
The union republics carry out active work to mobilize and make efficient use of the financial and credit resources formed on their territory and contribute in every possible way to the creation of a ramified network of commercial banks and other credit establishments. If they have insufficient credit resources of their own, commercial banks may obtain credit on a competitive, contract basis from banks situated in the corresponding republic or in another one.
The choice of bank for temporary credit services is made by the enterprise itself, regardless of the sector to which it belongs.
In connection with the transfer of enterprises of the agro-industrial complex to union republic jurisdiction and the orientation of republics and regions toward resolving social development problems above all, as well as the change in the practice of credit planning, the question of the expediency of transferring to their jurisdiction establishments of the USSR Agro-Industrial Bank and the USSR Bank for Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development located on the corresponding territory has to be resolved.

14. In the sphere of price formation the union republic, guided by all-union norms and statutes, implements a unified state prices policy on its territory and directs work on price formation and the improvement of the price mechanism; determines the competence of the republic's ministries and departments and of local soviets of people's deputies in questions of price formation and helps to democratize their resolution.
On the basis of unified all-union principles the union republic lays down the procedure for drawing up and approving:
wholesale, purchase, and retail prices and tariffs for output, goods, and services produced and consumed mainly within the republic (except for prices and tariffs for output, goods, and services of all-union national economic and social significance, the list of which is determined by the USSR Council of Ministers, as well as prices laid down by enterprises and cooperatives in accordance with USSR legislation);
prices and tariffs for all kinds of consumer, municipal (including rent for accommodation and payment for the use of public transport), and other paid services rendered to the population.
The union republics barter the resources at their disposal, depending on their national economic or social significance, either at prices laid down in the procedure approved by the USSR State Committee on Prices or at contract prices on equivalent terms.
The union republic is responsible for the strict observance of state prices discipline by all the enterprises and organizations located on its territory, regardless of their departmental subordination, organizes effective control, and suppresses attempts at the unsubstantiated hiking of retail prices and tariffs, particularly for goods for children and elderly people.

IV. Improving Management of the Union Republics' Socioeconomic Development

The republics' transfer to principles of self-management and self-financing and the broadening of their material and financial base presuppose substantial changes

throughout the system of planning, management of scientific and technical progress, capital construction, material and technical supply, and nature conservation and foreign economic activity. These changes must be aimed at strengthening the union republics' role in comprehensive economic and social development and harmonizing the interests of each republic and of the USSR as a whole.

Planning

1. The State Plan of the USSR's Economic and Social Development defines the participation of each union republic in resolving common strategic tasks and concretizes its contribution to the unified national economic complex in accordance with the initial planning data and also with all-union and interregional programs. The drafting of the national economic plans of the country and the union republics is underpinned by the concept and the Basic Guidelines for the USSR's Economic and Social Development, the General Scheme of the Development and Distribution of the USSR's Productive Forces, territorial and sectoral schemes, and other preplan documents.

In the union republics' planning activity it is necessary to strengthen in every possible way their economy's social orientation on the basis of its enhanced efficiency. For the purpose of raising the standard of management of social development in the republics and overcoming the considerable differences which have arisen in this sphere it is necessary to extend the use of the system of scientifically substantiated norms and normatives characterizing the population's requirements and its provision with the basic kinds of benefits of life, and to define their phased attainment.

2. In the course of the elaboration of the draft State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR, the union republics' councils of ministers will be provided with the following initial planning data in a form laid down by the USSR Council of Ministers:

the control figures, used as a pointer to the socioeconomic development of each union republic, on the volume of net ouput in material production sectors (excluding turnover tax), on the growth of people's real incomes, and on the efficiency of the utilization of resources—reduction of materials input per ruble of net output. Indicators of national income and gross national product will be determined by the union republics themselves and will be reflected in the consolidated section of the plan and used as generalizing indicators assessing their economic and social development;

state orders, which are obligatory components of republics' plans, for the supply of very important types of industrial and agricultural products, food, and other types of consumer goods to all-union stocks (including those for centralized interrepublic supplies and implementation of interstate agreements), for the commissioning of capacities and facilities of all-union significance, and also for participation in the implementation of state programs;

centralized state capital investment quotas for the solution of all-union targeted tasks and quotas for centrally distributed material-technical resources;

economic normatives regulating the process of the formation of the union republic's budget and also normatives for payments into currency funds and reserve stocks.

The elaboration of initial planning data is carried out by central economic organs with union republics' participation.

A union republic's council of ministers determines the composition of the initial data and the procedure for supplying the republic's ministries and departments, autonomous republics' councils of ministers and krayispolkoms, oblispolkoms, okrug ispolkoms, gorispolkoms, and rayispolkoms with these data for the purpose of planning the economic and social development of their respective economies.

In deepening and expanding the use of economic methods of management, soviets will organize their work and relations with enterprises subordinated to higher bodies and with enterprises of no departmental subordination on the basis of economic normatives approved by them in the established way and also on the basis of contractual arrangements.

3. For the republics to exercise greater influence on ensuring the comprehensive development of the economy and have a bigger interest in the results of the activity of enterprises under union jurisdiction it is intended that:

these enterprises will be supplied with initial planning data by USSR ministries and departments and they will also be reported to union republics' council of ministers;

USSR ministries and departments will supply their enterprises with initial planning data for consumer goods and for paid services for the populace after coordinating them with union republics' councils of ministers.

Union republics have the prior right to conclude with enterprises under union jurisdiction located on their territory contracts for the supply of consumer goods and industrial-engineering products and for carrying out work (services) over and above the state order laid down for these enterprises. The question of using for republican needs part of these enterprises' output produced in accordance with a state order is decided when drawing up the state plan.

In order to deepen intra-union division of labor and develop production facilities of national economic significance it is deemed necessary to employ a system of economic incentives, concessions, and subsidies ensuring union republics' interest in deploying and building up the relevant production facilities.

4. In order to expand the union republics' potential for actively influencing the activities of enterprises located on their territory the role of comprehensive economic and social development plans at all levels really must be enhanced.

Comprehensive plans in republics are elaborated from grassroots level by local soviets (rayon, city, orkug, oblast, kray) on the basis of plans for the respective economic entity and on the basis of the plans of enterprises subordinated to higher bodies. The union republic's council of ministers ensures coordination between them and, in accordance with the general principles of national economic planning, independently forms the comprehensive 5-year plan for the economic and social development of the republic and presents it to the USSR Council of Ministers.

The state 5-year plan for the economic and social development of the union republic is approved by the republic's supreme soviet in the manner and within the deadline laid down by USSR legislation.

The transfer of republics and regions to the principles of self-management and self-financing will require the alteration and clarification of the management statistical information base, an improvement of the methods of territorial comparison in the sphere of production, distribution, and consumption of products, the social sphere, and also interrepublican deliveries. Special significance attaches to the elaboration of scientifically sound indicators and criteria for assessing the development of the union republics' economies and their contribution to the unified national economic complex.

Management of Scientific-Technical Progress

5. The union republics will devise and implement measures to conduct a scientific-technical policy, improve the quality of scientific research, and enhance the organization of science and scientific services; they will coordinate scientific research and development carried out in republican academies of sciences and scientific research, and in planning and design, and technological organizations of national economic sectors and higher education and contribute to the accelerated introduction of new equipment and technology, taking into account regional features of the development of the republic's production forces.

Plans must give priority to scientific research and studies for state scientific-technical programs, the Comprehensive Program for the Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Countries, and the plans of intersectorial scientific-technical complexes.

Republican management organs will carry out the financing of research and studies for the republic's economic needs using funds from budget and economic accountability sources; they will give every incentive to the implementation of technical and technological innovations, inventions, and licenses. They will also actively promote the development of progressive forms of joint work by collectives for the effective and accelerated solution of scientific-technical, production, and social problems in areas where different spheres of science and technology meet.

Union republics will be in charge of the creation of new republican scientific research, planning and design, and technological organizations, changing the operational profile of scientific and scientific services institutions under their jurisdiction, and eliminating organizations whose activities are unproductive or lack relevance. Special attention must be paid to improving the work efficiency of regional scientific centers.

Within the limits of their powers as laid down by USSR legislation union republics will independently solve questions of the creation of high technology centers [tekhnopolisy] on their their territory.

The formation or elimination of scientific research, planning and design, and technological organizations directly subordinated to USSR ministries and departments will be carried out by them on agreement with the councils of ministers of the relevant republics.

Capital Construction

6. Republics will have charge of all matters to do with the construction of production facilities for their respective economies, housing, production and social infrastructure facilities, including facilities that are created during the erection of enterprises under union jurisdiction, and also the formation of the contract work program for their respective construction organizations.

The union republics' councils of ministers independently determine the amount and areas of use of capital investments financed from the republics' budgets and take decisions on building projects, irrespective of the estimated cost of construction, on the stages of the design process and other construction norms and regulations, and on other issues connected with preparing for and implementing capital construction for their respective economies.

It is proposed to abandon the practice of giving the union republic councils of ministers state orders for the commissioning of projects in the social sphere and production projects in their respective economies. At the same time, it is planned to give them the right to place a state (republic) order directly with contract construction organizations for the commissioning of sociocultural projects.

When drafting the construction program of organizations under the USSR construction ministries it would be expedient to ensure that the volumes of work of the aforementioned organizations, decided by them independently after the state order has been placed, primarily include social projects based on contracts with republic-level and local bodies.

7. The siting of new enterprises and the expansion of existing enteprises under union jurisdiction using centralized state capital investments is carried out on the basis of coordinated decisions between the republic and the appropriate sectoral body of administration, with reciprocal commitments.

When building new enterprises and expanding existing enterprises in sectors of the national economy on the republic's territory which are financed from the union budget, provision must be made for building projects in the social and production infrastructure within agreed volumes and deadlines set by the council of ministers of

the union republic in question or by local soviet executive committees. With the sides' agreement, the republic, kray, or oblast may be given funds for building such projects. Projects for the construction and expansion of enterprises under a USSR ministry or department are coordinated with local soviets in the area where the enterprise is located or is proposed to be built.

It is planned to broaden the rights of republic-level extradepartmental commissions with regard to examining planning estimates for new construction and the modernization of production projects, and also in connection with assessing the optimum nature of technical decisions taken, the comprehensive use of natural resources, and prevention of a negative impact on the environment from the construction and operation of enterprises.

In order to ensure a balance between the volumes of capital construction in the republics and the financial, material, and technical resources and capacities of construction organizations, the total volume of construction and assembly work carried out in any given territory must be determined in estimates for comprehensive plans for the economic and social development of the territory.

Material and Technical Supply

8. The republics' transition to self-financing is connected with the improvement of the material and technical supply system. This must proceed from the premise that the main forms of supply will be wholesale and company trade, the sale of goods at trade fairs and auctions, and direct ties between enterprises, the comprehensive development of which must promote the formation of a single all-union socialist market. The union republics' councils of ministers are expected to actively contribute to the development of progressive forms of material and technical supply.

With the centralized allocation of resources, a fundamentally new feature must be the fact that limits on these resources for the relevant products lists are established by the USSR Gosplan for the union republics' councils of ministers with regard to their respective economies, while the limits are set by the USSR Gossnab for territorial bodies of supply as a whole for all enterprises and organizations irrespective of their departmental jurisdiction and without allocation based on sectors and areas [napravleniya]. When determining the volumes of the above resources more extensive use should be made of scientifically substantiated norms for their use in capital construction and for the satisfaction of production and repair and operation needs, while proceeding from an active policy of saving resources and enlisting secondary raw materials in production.

9. Territorial supply bodies operating on the basis of economic accountability are the main link in the system of material and technical supply for enterprises and organizations situated in the territory of the republic. As the body fulfilling the general state functions of regulating the material and technical supply of the national economy, the USSR Gossnab contributes to the formation of rational interregional economic ties and the creation of conditions for the fullest possible use of production capacities, organizes the process of supplying enterprises with the commercial information they need, develops the supply department, and forms optimum circulating and reserve stock. On account of this allocation of functions, the dual jurisdiction of material and technical supply bodies in the union republics is retained—for the republics' councils of ministers and the USSR Gossnab.

Territorial supply bodies organize consumers' supply in the region via wholesale trade without any limits (funds) and also offer their services in the formation of economic ties with suppliers and in the sale of output, including that supplied by manufacturers on the basis of direct, unlimited consumer orders.

Interrepublic exchange of output and goods is organized by territorial supply bodies and enterprises on the basis of direct, mutually advantageous ties and long-term agreements between them.

The union republics' councils of ministers are responsible for satisfying the needs of all enterprises and organizations on their territory regarding local construction materials and other products, the balance sheets and plans for the allocation of which are drawn up by republic-level administrative bodies. 10. In order to ensure that the national economy of the country and every individual republic functions steadily, and also to render the necessary assistance when extreme situations arise, it is considered expedient to create an all-union system of reserve material, food, and financial stocks, while bearing in mind that all republics and regions play a part in their formation. A specific list of types of products and the normatives for the republics' participation in the formation of these reserve stocks are established in the 5-year plans. The system of state reserves is retained in this connection.

11. In order to eliminate monopolist tendencies encroaching on consumer interests, strengthen interrepublic integrational processes, and form an effective all-union market, a system of economic, organizational, and legal measures must be evolved that will ensure the development of competition and competitiveness between product suppliers and also the building of mutually advantageous economic ties between material and technical supply bodies, producers, and consumers, irrespective of their departmental jurisdiction and territorial location.

Environmental Protection and Nature Use

12. Attaching exceptional significance to improving the ecological situation in the interests of present and future generations of Soviet people, it is advisable to establish the priority of territorial management in questions concerning environmental protection and nature use.

Working on the basis of the powers invested in the union republics by USSR nature protection legislation, they have the right to dispose of the unified state fund of

natural resources in their territory. In accordance with this, the republics establish—on the basis of agreement with the USSR State Committee for Nature Conservation—the maximum limits and normatives of nature use and the indicators showing the effectiveness and comprehensive use of natural resources, and also authorize their exploitation.

Republic-level and local bodies of authority and management:
coordinate the activity of associations, enterprises, and organizations, regardless of their departmental jurisdiction, in connection with environmental protection and the rational use of natural resources;
organize the voluntary pooling of the means [kooperirovaniye sredstv] of ministries, departments, and enterprises with a view to the comprehensive utilization of natural resources and the joint implementation of nature conservation measures, and seek to ensure the introduction of ecologically clean and waste-free technologies, and both the construction on time and to a high standard of nature conservation facilities and their reliable operation;
monitor the observance by enterprises and organizations of the demands of legislation pertaining to the use of nature and environmental protection, and impose bans on the activities of those of them which systematically violate the set procedure for the utilization of natural resources and create dangerous ecological situations.
Local soviets of people's deputies, exercising their powers in the management of natural resources, work jointly with republic organs to ensure the effective utilization of urban and agricultural land, water resources, deposits of local construction materials, and recreational facilities.

13. The implementation of all-union environmental protection programs and the republics' participation in international programs is funded from both the union budget and the republic budgets. The elaboration and implementation of republic and regional programs in this sphere is financed from the corresponding budgets and the funds allocated for this purpose in the draft estimates for the construction of enterprises. Payments exacted from enterprises which permit losses of mineral resources and pollute the environment are also to be used for this purpose.
In connection with the substantial expansion of the rights of union republics in ensuring environmental protection, it is deemed expedient to examine the question of the functions and the structure of the State Committee for Nature Conservation and other administrative nature conservation organs with a view to placing as many of the relevant organizations and institutions as feasible under union republic jurisdiction.

Labor and Social Development Management

14. Union republics implement an active social policy and consistently utilize labor remuneration as an important means of influencing labor productivity growth, enhanced production efficiency, and greater labor discipline. Special attention must be paid here to ensuring substantiated correlations between the growth of economically accountable income, labor productivity, and labor remuneration.
Union republics elaborate and implement on their own measures to ensure the effective employment of the ablebodied population, making provision for cadres' vocational and skill training and the rational distribution and redistribution of labor resources, and, jointly with sector management organs, they organize the timely retraining and job placement of redundant workers. They also implement measures to improve working conditions and reduce the number of industrial accidents and the incidence of occupational diseases. In regions where there is a labor surplus, questions of effective employment and job placement and worker cadre training are dealt with jointly with union organs and organs of other union republics.
Local soviets of people's deputies are authorized to exact payments, to be paid into local budgets, from enterprises which employ people in excess of the number of employees agreed during the compilation of the 5-year plan. The size of the payment for each additional worker, to be channeled into the development of the social infrastructure, is laid down by the union republic council of ministers.
With a view to providing employment in areas where there is a labor surplus it is necessary to make use of tax and other advantages to stimulate the creation of new jobs.
Republic and regional organs must promote in every way the introduction and dissemination of new forms of labor organization—leasing, team and family contracts, and the development of cooperatives.

15. It is proposed to authorize union republics at the expense and within the limits of their budgets, in addition to the level of wages and social benefits guaranteed by the state:
—to introduce pay raises and additional payments to boost the salaries of workers employed at health care establishments, in public education, culture, and other sectors funded from the republic budget;
—to introduce additional payments to boost the wages of union republic state administration organ workers and to define the system of their bonuses;
—to lay down additional benefits and advantages for workers engaged in the development of new territories with harsh climatic conditions or in remote areas;
—to enhance the level of guaranteed social benefits laid down on a statewide scale (excluding the size of pensions), introduce additional benefits and allowances to boost assistance to the population, and expand the list of vocations and posts which entitle people to draw a full pension.

16. With the aim of galvanizing demographic policy implemented on a countrywide scale, union republics draw up and implement independently regional population programs aimed at achieving a rational level of

reproduction and an optimum population structure as regards age and sex, the size of the family, its consolidation in situ [yeye ukrepleniye], and the creation of favorable conditions for raising the young generation. Republics are authorized to pay out of their budgets, bearing in mind special socioeconomic development characteristics, higher benefits and allowances than those set at union level, and to implement other measures to assist young couples, families with children, and mothers with large families in the interests of enhancing their social security.

Foreign Economic Activity

17. Proceeding from the need to consolidate international ties with the socialist community states and expand mutually advantageous business contacts with capitalist and developing countries, territorial management organs are called upon to ensure the practical utilization of the advantages of the international division of labor and of the achievements of world science and technology with a view to accelerating the socioeconomic development of each individual union republic and the USSR as a whole. The development and deepening of the republics' foreign economic ties, the buildup of the export potential of the respective economies, and the optimum exploitation of local potential for earning foreign currency must become an important sphere of their work.

Union republics resolve independently all questions pertaining to foreign economic activity, within the sphere of their competence defined by USSR legislation and on the basis of the principle of foreign currency self-capitalization [valyutnaya samookupayemost]. Their sphere of competence includes:

—the establishment of republic and regional foreign trade organizations and firms, specifically to assist enterprises in the exercise of their rights to sell output abroad;

—the provision of assistance in the development of direct ties and the creation, together with foreign partners, of joint enteprises, associations, scientific centers, and other organizations in the sphere of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation both on the territory of the republic and abroad;

—the development of border and coastal trade;

—the development of foreign tourism, its material and technical base, and the conclusion of agreements with foreign firms and union organs for tourism on cooperation in this sphere;

—conducting international exhibitions, trade fairs, symposiums, cultural, sporting, and other events, and also publicity activity on a commercial basis.

18. Union republics form a republic's hard-currency fund and independently resolve questions to do with its utilization. Transactions with foreign partners are carried out using this fund. Union organs are not responsible for republics' commitments.

A republic's hard-currency fund is formed using the hard-currency income of republican foreign trade organizations and deductions from the hard currency earned by all enterprises and organizations, whether under the jurisdiction of the respective republic or under union jurisdiction. Moreover, the aforementioned fund includes currency earned from the sale of goods, work, and services to foreign organizations, firms, and foreign citizens in accordance with established procedure on its territory, and also hard-currency receipts from the sale for hard currency of output from the resources directly at the disposal of the republic.

The union republics' councils of ministers establish normatives for deductions paid by their respective enterprises and organizations, taking into account payments into the all-union fund, and the USSR Council of Ministers likewise establishes the normatives for enterprises and organizations under union jurisdiction. Hard-currency receipts from border and alongshore trade remain totally at the disposal of territorial organs.

V. Organizational and Legal Questions of Implementing the General Principles

1. A corresponding USSR Law is to be elaborated taking into consideration the results of the nationwide discussion of the General Principles for Restructuring the Leadership of the Economy and the Social Sphere in the Union Republics on the Basis of Broadening Their Sovereign Rights, Self-Management, and Self-Financing. Taking into account the specific economic features of the republics, the features of their historical, national, and demographic development, and their administrative and territorial division, it is intended that the draft law or any act adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet should make provision for the right of republic to promulgate normative acts that supplement and amplify the terms of the said law but which are not at variance with USSR legislation. Here it should be established that certain powers of the union republics enshrined in law may be employed by autonomous republics and that union republics may delegate a number of rights to them.

At the same time it is advisable to include in the draft law provisions that establish union organs' liability for violations of republics' rights and also union republics' liability for their failure to fulfill their obligations to the USSR.

2. All the preparatory legal, economic planning, and organizational work linked with switching union republics to the principles of self-management and self-financing need to be carried out in 1989-1990 in order to enable the law to be brought into operation at the start of the 13th 5-Year Plan.

In order to carry out experimental checks and and to fine-tune elements in the new system of territorial management it seems necessary for them to undergo final acceptance [provesti ikh aprobirovaniye] in 1990 in a number of republics and regions.

Supreme Soviet Resolution on Draft

PM1403141189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves:

1. The Draft General Principles for the Restructuring of the Management of the Economy and the Social Sphere in the Union Republics, on the basis of extension of their sovereign rights, self-government and self-financing, which were forwarded to the USSR Supreme Soviet by the USSR Council of Ministers, and which were elaborated together with the union republic's council of ministers, will be published in the newspapers IZVESTIYA SOVETOV NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV SSSR, PRAVDA, SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA, TRUD, EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA and in republican newspapers, for nationwide discussion.

2. The USSR Council of Ministers will be charged with examining proposals and remarks about the Draft General Principles for the Restructuring of the Management of the Economy and the Social Sphere in the Union Republics, on the basis of extension of their sovereign rights, self-government and self-financing, which have come in during the nationwide discussion, and, with taking account of the results, will begin work to prepare a corresponding draft USSR Law.

[Signed] Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
[Signed] Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
Moscow, The Kremlin. 13 March 1989.

Preparations for Plenum on Nationalities Relations

LD1403142689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1305 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 14 Mar (TASS)—The CPSU Central Committee has examined the progress of preparations for the CPSU Central Committee plenum on further improving relations between the nationalities. It was noted that the forthcoming Central Committee plenum is generating profound public interest and great hopes are being placed on it. The nationalities' policy is being discussed in party committees, at meetings of communists, in labor collectives, in the mass media, in scientific and creative intelligentsia circles, and in various amateur associations. This has become one of the chief topics of the election campaign at the present time. Within the framework of preparations for the plenum, all-union and regional scientific and theoretical conferences, symposiums, "roundtables" with broad public participation have been held.

The Communist Party Central Committees of the union republics and the kraykoms and obkoms have summarized the opinions of different sectors of the population and of specialists and have submitted the analytical material to the CPSU Central Committee. They have voiced their suggestions on further improving relations between the nationalities taking into account the historical, socioeconomic, and cultural features of the development of union and autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts and okrugs, and have put forward topical problems that have to be examined and resolved at the plenum.

Serious work is being done by many party and local soviet bodies in the provinces to tackle acute issues that are of concern to working people, particularly in the social sphere and in the sphere of national culture and language and ecology. On their initiative, in particular, large-scale measures have been mapped out on the problem of the Aral Sea; a decision has been taken to close and redesignate the Armenian AES; construction of the third set of the Ignalina AES in the Lithuania has been stopped; the implementation of several hydroreclamation projects has been halted; and other measures relating to nature protection are being taken.

The government of the RSFSR is examining a number of issues to improve the living conditions of northern ethnic groups. In Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, the Ukraine, Tatariya, and Bashkiriya, and in a number of other union and autonomous republics, new forms of working to meet the cultural needs of nationalities living in their territories have become widespread. In addition, schools have been opened which use the national language for teaching, as well as classes, groups, and faculties for the study of their native language by Germans, Jews, Crimean Tatars, Koreans, Kurds, Turks, Bulgars, and Gagauz. New newspapers are being published as well as interchangeable pages, and additional television transmissions and radio broadcasts have been organized in national languages. In Moscow a number of national cultural centers and associations have been established.

The possibilities for the economic expediency of the transition by republics and regions to financial autonomy—the machinery for the organization and utilization of the USSR state budget, for the state budgets of the union republics, and of local budgets, and for the interaction of republican and territorial administrative bodies with USSR ministries and departments as well as enterprises subordinate to the union—have been comprehensively studied with the participation of representatives of republican party and soviet bodies and of research institutions. A document of the USSR Council of Ministers has been prepared on the general principles for restructuring the management of the economy and the social sphere in the union republics on the basis of extending their sovereign rights, self-government, and self-financing which has been approved at the CPSU Central Committee and submitted for nationwide discussion. The CPSU Central Committee has instructed the appropriate bodies to examine carefully the request by the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Belorussia to go over by way of an experiment to the new principles of management from 1990 in place of 1991.

A draft USSR law on local self-management and the local economy is being prepared in the spirit of the new mutual relations which are developing between the center and the localities, and with the involvement of deputies, the leaders of soviets, and legal scientists.

A package of draft laws connected with the regulation of relations between nationalities is being developed on the basis of proposals which are received and of an analysis of the discussions taking place in the country. It includes such key issues as improving the Soviet socialist federation; strengthening the sovereignty of union republics and the legal status of autonomous republics, oblasts, and okrugs; clearly delineating the competences of the USSR and the union republics, and a number of other issues. The central idea of the draft projects which are in preparation, as well as of the changes and additions to the USSR Constitution and the constitutions of the union republics, is the restoration of the original Leninist principles of a Soviet federation—a union of republics possessing real sovereignty in all spheres of state life. It is intended that after approval by the CPSU Central Committee plenum they will be passed to the USSR Supreme Soviet for examination and subsequent submission for discussion by all the people.

At the same time, the preparations for the plenum have not yet acquired the scope which the developing situation requires, a situation which is the result of the growth in restructuring processes, as well as of the underestimation of the urgency of problems which have mounted in the sphere of national relations. These issues are being raised as matters of principle in the course of the election campaign. Nor must there be attempts by individual extremist groupings to force the pace [sygrat na operezheniye], to apply pressure on the party and on local soviet bodies, and to urge them to make hasty decisions on a short-term basis, as well as to make a hasty review of the constitutions of the union republics currently in force. In a number of instances they manage to capture a certain proportion of the population with their slogans.

At the same time, the public is insufficiently informed about how the working out of a concept for the renewal of the party's policy on nationalities is progressing and how many important issues are being dealt with today. Party propaganda on occasion unjustifiably takes passive positions.

The CPSU Central Committee has recommended that the party committees reveal more fully the whole variety of work being done with the plenum and try to get the working people to understand the fact that nationality problems cannot be solved at one time. Each step must be carefully weighed and a system and consistency are required.

In connection with the publication of a draft of the general principles for restructuring the management of the economy and the social sphere in the union republics on the basis of expanding their sovereign rights, self-government, and self-financing, attention should be concentrated on an explanation and comprehensive study of this issue at the local level with the involvement of representatives of all the union republics and autonomous formations, of the creative intelligentsia, scientists, and party and local soviet workers. In studying this further, the basic approaches to solving the nationality problems that have come to a head are to be tested.

It was stressed that it is essential to step up the drafting of normative bills on improving relations between the nationalities, and to broaden participation in this by the union republics, autonomus units, and the public. To this end, it was proposed to hold a meeting soon in the CPSU Central Committee with the participation of the members of the standing commission of deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet on relations between the nationalities and representatives of the presidiums of the supreme soviets of the union republics and of learned lawyers, at which the main clauses of the draft laws and alternative proposals being worked out are to be discussed.

It was also proposed that regional meetings and conferences of the party and local soviet aktiv, of the legal public and representatives of amateur associations and movements be organized to involve them in discussing the problems relating to the further improvement of the national and state structure of the USSR, to the delineation of spheres of responsibility between the USSR and the union republics, to citizenship, and to issues relating to national languages and culture.

The USSR Academy of Sciences has deemed it expedient to step up research into the process of the formation of the Soviet Socialist Federation and into the stages of development of our multinational state in its specific historical content, taking into account the real contradictions and deformations, and drawing up assessments which could form the basis of a propaganda concept.

Departments of the CPSU Central Committee jointly with the USSR Academy of Sciences have been instructed to prepare a proposal in a month's time for the setting up of a scientific research center for the comprehensive study of topical problems relating to relations between the nationalities.

The Marxism-Leninism Institute and the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Academy of Sciences have been instructed to hold an all-union scientific and practical conference on "topical problems relating to the development of relations between the nationalities in the USSR" in May 1989.

It has been proposed that a number of press conferences and "roundtables," to be shown on central television and covered in the press, should be organized with party and state leaders, prominent scientists, and specialists taking

part. They should cover the preparations for the second stage of the political reform, the drawing up of draft legislative acts regulating relations between the nationalities and also discussing the problems of territorial financial autonomy and local self-government.

It has been proposed that the mass media should publish a series of basic articles on matters relating to the theory and practice of relations between the nationalities and to the history of the formation of the USSR.

Further Reportage on Ryzhkov Visit to W. Siberia

Cites Points of New Regional Policy

LD1403164489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1510 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Barnaul, 14 March (TASS)—"The territories are being brought today to the forefront of the struggle for the practical implementation of those ideas and plans that the party mapped out in April 1985," stated Nikolay Ryzhkov, USSR people's deputy candidate from the CPSU and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. He made a speech at a meeting held here today of representatives of party and public organizations and labor collectives of Altay, a major industrial and agricultural kray in Siberia.

Nikolay Ryzhkov said that the main goal of the new regional policy was "to attain a high level of social activeness from the population of each territory and to ensure without fail that local soviets, as the main constituent part of the socialist self-government, would play a leading part".

Talking about a new regional policy, Nikolay Ryzhkov stressed that while the center retains functions relating to implementing national interests, it is essential—alongside energetic, enterprising soviets—to shape a versatile and full-bodied system of self-governing bodies which possess complete independence in matters which can and should be resolved locally.

"The implementation of these fundamental directions, said the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, will serve as a powerful catalyst of the social and economic development of territories". [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1500 GMT on 14 March carries a shorter report which adds: "Financial autonomy, self-sufficency, and self-financing should predominantly become a reliable economic base for the self-government of territories, the speaker stressed."]

Having pointed to the need to economically tie up and legally consolidate the interests of the territories and enterprises, the speaker noted that "the general principle for all that those that work better should live better should be strictly implemented here." Nikilay Ryzhkov also stressed the general rule: "All expenditure on the development of the social sphere will be covered by the soviets through their own resources, that is the financial resources of the territories will be made directly dependent on the efficiency of the work of enterprises located in them."

"The implementation of the new regional policy opens a correct path towards solving political, social, and economic problems on the basis of raising the efficiency and competitiveness of republican and other territorial economic complexes," the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers said.

He stressed that organs of people's power—the soviets—should take upon themselves the functions of a host who has all the necessary financial resources. "Things should be steered toward ensuring that this real power, backed by local budgets, is capable of adopting decisions that are very important for people; specifically, regional supplements to family allowances or child benefits".

"All these important issues, Nikolay Ryzhkov continued, can be concentrated in specially developed large-scale regional programs for social development and growth of national well-being. Everything should be channeled toward solving this task: The expansion of the financial basis of the soviets through strengthening the local economy, the introduction of a new system of payments by state enterprises, and the taxation of cooperatives. And, finally, the soviets of people's deputies can and should make active efforts themselves for attracting financial resources".

"The government has been implementing a firm policy in which central organs are obliged to channel their efforts to ensure that the hands of the local soviets are free to take initiatives during their work," Nikolay Ryzhkov said.

Noting that the elaboration of the most important elements of present-day regional policy began with the agroindustrial complex, the speaker said that the "experience that has been built up provides complete grounds for drawing the conclusion that our regions and territories, including those in Siberia, have at their disposal sufficient material and economic strength to remove once and for all the problem of supplying the population with food. However, this matter is proceeding at an intolerably slow rate."

In this connection, the speaker stressed that a radical change in economic relations must become the essence of agrarian policy in the countryside. The plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, which opens tomorrow, will discuss the state of affairs in the agroindustrial complex and adopt radical decisions, Nikolay Ryzhkov said. "One can say that we are on the eve of major reforms in the country's agriculture," he said.

"Everywhere in our country things are now unfolding toward the creation of a living environment of full value for the person. There is enormous scope here for local

initiative and public self-government. The law on local self-government and the local economy which is currently being prepared will provide a reliable legal underpinning for this work. Work in the localities must be imbued with an orientation toward practical deeds. It must also be in accordance with the spirit of consistent development of political and economic reform, radical change in the role of the soviets in the solution of the key tasks, and with raising the well-being and improving the life of Soviet people," Nikolay Ryzhkov stressed in conclusion.

13 Mar Factory Visit

LD1303234289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by correspondent A. Tikhomirov in Altay Kray]

[Excerpts] The visit by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov to Altay Kray continues.

[Tikhomirov] How closely in such workers' towns as Rubtsovsk are the peoples' lives connected with the works, and the life of the works with the town itself. The situation at the Altay Tractor Works, which was the subject today, brought not only the workers themselves and their families into despondency, but also the town's executive committee and all its inhabitants. The R200 million allocated by the state for construction of housing and social and cultural ameneties has suddenly started to slip away from Rubtsovsk. The money, after all, was given for the production of this new tractor, the T-250. But the tractor, as it transpired, cannot come off the conveyor lines here by 1991, the necessary schedule. And the rumors began that they would give the job to another works. [video shows Ryzhkov and others touring tractor works, models of the new tractor]

[Ryzhkov] What is your opinion?

[Unidentified man] Our opinion is that we have, as they say, given birth to it here and it is here that it should be made because the town's prospects will decline without it. We are the very worst town in Altay Kray.

[Second man] The tractor should be ours!

[Woman] Ours, indeed!

[Ryzhkov] I did ask—will you let it go or not?

[Second man] Undesirable.

[Ryzhkov] Undesirable. [video shows Ryzhkov and entourage with workers]

[Tikhomirov] The Pavlodar works in Kazakhstan will get the tractor order. It will make an effort. But the Altay works, however sad it is to say today, considering its past thunderous glory, will not make an effort; it is not within its powers to move its own child further than the experimental model. [passage omitted]

[Ryzhkov] I think that apparently you will have to share. But I am not in favor of taking away the tractor, not in favor. Because I myself am from a works and I understand that when a design and technologist collective has worked for a long time and has already achieved a machine through much suffering, to have it subsequently taken away is like a rap on the knuckles. For that reason I would never support that and I think that those who have created the tractor should be making it. This is the question: Will you be able to make it in the quantities necessary for the national economy? That is the question. So when I say share perhaps, as they say, you will be producing a certain amount of tractors and, say, Pavlodar will also produce a certain quantity of tractors. [video shows Ryzhkov with workers]

[Tikhomirov] Yes, in the final analysis the factories should feed the state and not the other way around. But the economic reform does not at all mean for the enterprise today that it must get itself out of any misfortune. However you reckon it, the main value in industry is still people. [passage omitted]

People's Deputies Electoral Procedures Continue

Commission Chairman Interviewed

PM1503103589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[Interview with V.P. Orlov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputies, by unnamed TASS correspondent: "Democracy Gaining Strength"; date and place not given; first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA introduction]

[Text] The campaign to elect USSR people's deputies has emerged onto the homestretch. The candidate deputies are waging an acute, open struggle for votes, and the people's first elected representatives are already being named in public organizations. A TASS correspondent asked V.P. Orlov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputies, to comment on some special features of the present elections.

[Correspondent] Vladimir Pavlovich, how do you assess the course of the election campaign?

[Orlov] The present election campaign has been not only one of the most important in the entire history of Soviet power but also one of the most complex. And the preelection stages which have taken place fully confirm this conclusion. The chief feature of these elections is that unique political experience is being gained and new elements of our democratic development accumulated.

I believe that the new Law on Elections adopted by the extraordinary 12th USSR Supreme Soviet Session last December is working for restructuring.

[Correspondent] Could you describe in greater detail how the law has "worked" at various stages of the election campaign?

[Orlov] Of course. An election campaign must by law pass through definite stages. The initial stage is the formation of okrugs and the setting up of electoral commissions—organs entrusted with all the organization of elections and with monitoring their correct conduct. With due regard for the proposals of the union republic supreme soviet presidiums, and proceeding from the dynamics of the changing numbers of voters in the regions and in the country as a whole, 750 territorial and 750 national-territorial electoral okrugs were formed. It was at that stage that an innovation was made and things were done differently than before. The okrugs were formed for the first time not according to the principle of equality with regard to the size of population but proceeding from the number of voters.

Okrug electoral commissions were formed in an atmosphere of broad glasnost and democracy and began fulfilling their duties in good time. On the whole, the formation of okrug commissions proceeded in an organized manner. I believe, however, that people took a formal approach to this important matter in a number of places, having no clear idea of the volume and responsibility of the work that has to be done at the time of elections under new conditions. The commissions included almost no jurists or specialists with a good knowledge of soviet work. As a result, voters could not always receive qualified advice from members of okrug electoral commissions.

[Correspondent] A fundamental issue of the present election campaign is the formation of a deputies' corps which accords with the new tasks of a democratic society and with the spirit of restructuring. Please say how this demand was manifested during the nomination of candidate deputies.

[Orlov] The new law considerably extended opportunities for nominating candidate people's deputies in territorial and national-territorial okrugs. The right to nominate them not only at meetings but also at labor collective conferences was granted for the first time. It was at just this stage that freedom of speech, pluralism of opinions, and openness began to gain in strength.

The possibility, which was opened up for anyone, of taking an active life stance intensified the struggle to an unprecedented degree at the time of nominating candidates. In some okrugs 20-30 or more people were nominated.

For the first time the law made it possible to nominate candidate deputies at meetings of voters at places of residence. The corresponding soviets convened them jointly with the okrug electoral commissions. It is impossible to ignore the atmosphere surrounding the nomination of candidates at such meetings. On the whole, appropriate conditions were created at them for the nomination of an unlimited number of candidacies: Everyone could propose a candidacy, support some opinion, answer questions, or expound his own viewpoint.

True, there were both misunderstandings and lack of organization. Sometimes the situation during the nomination of candidacies was complicated by a clash between the new approaches and the usual old stereotypes. It is impossible to ignore the fact that the activities of a number of informal associations and groups seeking to slow down the implementation of our plans, under slogans of the struggle for restructuring, were galvanized at the campaign promotion stage. The election rostrum was sometimes used to propagandize anticonstitutional ideas, and attempts were made to wreck meetings if particular candidates did not suit them.

[Correspondent] Okrug election meetings were held for the first time in this campaign. Did they fulfill their functions and tasks?

[Orlov] By law, okrug meetings could be held only where more than two candidate deputies had been nominated. This is the first difference between them and the former okrug conferences, which "conferred" around a single candidacy. But the main thing is the meetings' changed functions. Their purpose now is to discuss not only the candidates but also their programs, and to reach agreement on those who will be submitted to the okrug commission for registration. In all, 832 such meetings were held. The absolute majority of them were held in an organized manner. It can be said that on the whole they, too, justified their purpose.

But the holding of okrug meetings has also highlighted many problems connected with delegating representatives to them and organizing the meetings themselves, particularly procedural questions. Great experience is being accumulated, and it must be studied in the future.

[Correspondent] Vladimir Pavlovich, can you say how many candidates have been registered and what, in general terms, their social portrait is?

[Orlov] It is already known that 2,895 candidates will be included on the voting papers in territorial and national-territorial electoral okrugs. Let us make a small analysis. Of the total number of candidates, more than 16 percent are women, 85.3 percent are members and candidate members of the CPSU, 25.2 percent are workers, and 12 percent are kolkhoz members.

Registration has arranged the candidates as follows in electoral okrugs: There are 12 candidates aspiring to a single deputy's seat in 1 okrug; 11 candidates in 1 okrug; 9 in 1; 8 in 1; 7 in 4 okrugs; 6 in 7; 5 in 12; 4 in 27; 3 in 109; 2 in 953; and 1 candidate in 384 okrugs.

Readers are naturally interested in the various categories into which the candidates fall, and they are also interested in knowing whose names will feature as the sole names on ballot papers in 384 territorial or national-territorial okrugs. What can I say here? Approximately 5 percent of them are servicemen; 8 percent are leaders of enterprises and organizations or specialists; 10 percent are representatives of science, culture, the creative intelligentsia, or the press; 18 percent are leaders of state organs of management; an equal percentage are workers and kolkhoz members; approximately 36 percent are party workers.

[Correspondent] In the majority of electoral okrugs there will still be a multiple choice in the elections. How is agitation work proceeding? Is it always conducted within the framework of the law? And, in general, what "framework" should agitation workers and fiduciaries adhere to in the election struggle?

[Orlov] Quite frankly, there are questions which cannot be answered unequivocally. Let us recall the former election system, geared to a single candidate. What did agitation workers do? They gathered data to draw up voters' lists and ensured their 100-percent turnout at the polling place to vote.

There has now been a radical change in the demands on agitprop work. Labor collectives, voters at their place of residence, and public organizations have been granted the right to unimpeded agitation for their own candidates. This is what the Law on Elections states. What is more, it says that they have the right to agitate for or against candidates at meetings, in the press, on television, and on radio. This is something new, and the very first experience shows that far from all party and soviet organs or public organizations were ready for this.

So what is wrong? I believe that the inertia of the old way of thinking is affecting matters.

In some places, it is true, the former agitation centers are now called, in the spirit of the times, "sociopolitical centers," "information and propaganda centers," and "voters' clubs," but so far, unfortunately, the substance of their work is changing little. New forms of work are also being manifested only slowly. There is something here for both party committees and soviet organs to think about.

[Correspondent] How, for all that, should preelection agitation be carried out?

[Orlov] Primarily under conditions of full pluralism of opinions. In the course of agitating for candidates, different viewpoints may be expressed with regard to candidacies or particular points in their election programs. A struggle is being waged, after all! And we must be tolerant of other people's opinions and not endeavor to shut opponents up. Each candidate has his own fiduciaries, and they are obliged to agitate for their candidate. Labor collectives, public organizations, and citizens also have the right to agitate. Only it is important here that the limit of what is permissible and ethical bounds are not overstepped. We, too, must learn how to engage in honest, open polemics. Unfortunately, sometimes during the election campaign speeches by agitators, activists, and citizens belittle the dignity of a candidate deputy, employ unworthy means of crushing opponents, and make use of rumors and fabrications. There can be but one assessment of such factors—a negative assessment. The election struggle must be waged only within the framework of socialist morality, on the principles of respect for the honor and dignity of every Soviet person. Sympathies with one candidate cannot be grounds for insulting another.

[Correspondent] Little time remains until election day in the electoral okrugs. Please characterize this period, albeit briefly.

[Orlov] The preparations for election day really are approaching completion. The candidate deputies are known, and it is now necessary to ensure the printing of ballot papers and to deliver them on schedule to the wards. The ward commissions must complete, and the okrug commissions check, the preparation and the equipping of polling premises. Party and soviet workers cannot remain aloof either. Less time than before has been allocated to familiarizing citizens with the list of voters. Therefore it is necessary to notify them in good time, right now, of where and when this can be done. And ensure that citizens' applications with regard to the lists are examined promptly in the commissions.

Strict observance of the principle of a secret ballot for every voter assumes exceptional significance under conditions of competition among candidates. In the 1987 local soviet elections attempts to "go some way" toward meeting the desire of a section of voters to bypass the booth were still encountered in some places. This must now be totally ruled out by the very layout of the voting premises. The commissions' actions during the key final days of the election campaign must be more public [glasnyy] and open than ever.

Today we are all being schooled in democracy. Let us not forget that today the examiner is not an "indifferently-unanimously" voting voter, but a socially active person awakened by restructuring.

TASS Chief Interviewed on Platform

LD1503111289 Moscow TASS in English 0820 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 15 TASS—The TASS general director said that the country should have a single

automatic information service. Leonid Kravchenko made this comment in an interview with the weekly newspaper LITERATURNAYA GAZETA devoted to his election platform as candidate from the USSR Union of Journalists.

The TASS general director said further that the "single information service is crucial for the survival of all mass media."

"TASS already has an electronic information bank containing more than 500,000 bits of information and facts," he continued. "But it remains largely a dead weight. The bank is being poorly used and only by TASS, whereas it could already now service all outlets from the largest to the regional ones."

Kravchenko described as inadmissable the lag in electronics, information science and computer culture. Speaking about the prospects for providing technical facilities for the mass media the TASS chief said that a distribution satellite system, "Moscow-Global", was being set up. It would operate on the basis of a Soviet-made artificial earth satellite, "Gorizont". The aim is to beam visual and text information to the entire world.

Report on Electing Deputies Summarized

LD1503105489 Moscow TASS in English 1040 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 15—A TASS correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

Valentin Koptyug, chairman of the commission for the election of people's deputies of the USSR from the CPSU, vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, has delivered a report on the first item of the agenda at the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, which opened here today. The plenum will elect people's deputies of the USSR from the CPSU and discuss the party's agrarian policy. Valentin Koptyug said, in part, that the entire election campaign was based on a clear-cut and realistic political platform, set forth in the election address of the CPSU Central Committee to the party and the Soviet people. This document has shown once again that the CPSU comes out, to all intents and purposes, as the society's vanguard and leading force, he stressed. It is set on adhering firmly to perestroika, achieving socialist society's renovation through allround democratisation, through a radical economic reform, through the restoration of the power of the soviets and establishment of a law-governed state. The program of action, contained in the address, constituted the bedrock of the programs of all candidate people's deputies from the CPSU, he said.

According to Valentin Koptyug, the election completed campaign was marked by a new approach to electioneering at all its stages. More than 105 thousand party organisations took part in the discussion of candidatures before their final nomination. They submitted for the consideration of higher-up party committees more than 31,500 candidatures. The CPSU Central Committee received more than 12 thousand telegrams, letters and extracts from resolutions passed by party meetings.

The January plenary meeting of the Central Committee, Valentin Koptyug recalled, nominated 100 candidates from the 312 slated for discussion. The decision was taken unanimously.

On the whole, the list of approved candidatures reflects the broadly popular character of the party, representing the interests of all strata of the population, primarily of the working class, the speaker noted. Workers account for most of the CPSU Candidates—26. The candidates include 7 collective farmers. In general, workers of industry, construction and agriculture, i.e. from the sphere of material production, account for almost a half of all candidates—47. The candidates include 22 workers in culture, scientists, educationalists and medics. The next big group is made up of party workers—21 candidates. Twelve members and alternate members of the Politburo, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee were nominated candidate people's deputies of the USSR. Several secretaries of party committees of enterprises, collective farms and districts also received support of communists at the grassroots and at the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee.

The list of candidates, Valentin Koptyug said, reflects sufficiently fully the multinational character of the CPSU. The registered candidates include representatives of all the union republics—23 nationalities in all.

Meetings of candidates from the CPSU with communists, working people, representatives of broad public circles, held in January-March, were active and comprehensive, the speaker said. They focussed both on major questions of party and state policy, and on local problems and affairs. Taking the floor at these meetings, the communists and the working people in general gave their support to candidates from the CPSU. It was stressed practically at all these meetings that it is necessary to raise the prestige of the CPSU as the political vanguard of the Soviet people, to pursue steadfastly the party's line in the country's supreme legislature.

Valentin Koptyug informed the CPSU CC Plenum in summary form about the proposals, requests and critical remarks, voiced at the meetings, and also about the letters and telegrams received by the commission for the election of people's deputies from the CPSU in the course of the election campaign.

Then the plenum went over to the election of 100 people's deputies from the CPSU by secret ballot.

Baklanov Addresses Khabarovsk Activists

LD1103160289 Moscow TASS in English 1425 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Khabarovsk March 11 TASS—"The Soviet Communist Party's election platform expresses the interests of the whole people and its main content is to develop and deepen the restructuring processes and tirelessly to see to it that Soviet people's wellbeing rises", emphasised Oleg Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central committee, a candidate for the post of USSR people's deputy from the Communist Party, in a speech at a meeting with the party activists of Khabarovsk territory, the Soviet Far East, on Saturday.

One of the central tasks of perestroika, the secretary of the CPSU Central committee said, is to bring about a rise in people's wellbeing by advancing the national economy and raising the efficiency of social production. It is from this standpoint that possibilities for expediting a solution to priority tasks—the food problem, the construction of housing and the saturation of the market with goods—have been analysed.

One of such possibilities is to reorient the defence branches of industry, said the candidate for the post of USSR people's deputy.

The new defence doctrine adopted by the Warsaw Treaty member states, he pointed out, and the favourable changes brought about in the international situation by our peace initiatives set out by Mikhail Gorbachev created good prerequisites for a more active participation of the defence-industry sector in the solution of the social tasks of society.

"We have not got an opportunity to utilise part of the defence potential for civilian purposes, without weakening, of course, the country's defence capacity.

The secretary of the CPSU Central committee pointed out the growing importance of the impact being made on the Soviet economy by the expansion of foreign economic relations.

He recalled that favourable opportunities had been established in Khabarovsk territory for large-scale development of mutually benefifical trade with nearby Japan, China and other neighbours. He called for utilising these opportunities to the full.

Part of the speech was devoted to ecological problems many of which are acute in Khabarovsk Territory, too. In this connection Baklanov said that considerable funds would have to be assigned for nature-conservation activities, coordinating them with a solution of important economic problems.

In conclusion of the speech the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee dwelt in detail on foreign policy matters.

Leningraders Electioneering

LD1403235589 Moscow TASS in English 2031 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Leningrad March 14 TASS—By TASS correspondent Mark Monusov:

Election campaigns in Leningrad have never yet seen the like of this: Canvassers are mobilizing votes not only in favour of the registered runners for seats in the country's supreme legislature but also against some.

In fact, each and every contender, from a worker to the first secretary of the regional party committee, has found himself in a ticklish situation.

It would seem, for example, that the city's vice-mayor, head of the Leningrad Planning Committee Aleksey Bolshakov, 49, has nothing more to fear. In the early stages of the campaign he outran every one of his rivals and was proclaimed the single candidate in his district. But now those who are opposed to Bolshakov blame the result on the selection procedures.

A slogan was displayed in the Nevskiy Prospect, in the very heart of the town, reading: "Leningraders We Have Been Deprived of the Right to Choose. Virtually Very Little Depends on Us Now. But No One Can Deprive Us of the Right to Vote Against. So Let Us Vote Against Bolshakov".

This call would hardly hold water. The vice-mayor's election platform displayed next to the slogan promises better conditions of life for the citizens, to be achieved, among other things, through the re-distribution of the money earmarked for industrial and housing construction.

As it is, over a billion and a half roubles are consumed annually in industrial expansion. Home-bulders get three times less.

"At present, the city executive committee has control over the lean two per cent of the basic assets", Aleksey Bolshakov told the Skorokhod factory shoemakers at the meet-the-candidate meeting on Tuesday. "The world-famous Hermitage and the library of the Soviet Academy of Sciences located in Leningrad do not belong to the city. They are run by respective central ministries", Bolshakov lamented.

"A short while ago the city public transport was made, at long last, Leningrad's property. What we need urgently is a law on local councils granting them the right to distribute capital investments for social development as they themselves see fit", he insisted.

In 17 out of the 21 constituencies in Leningrad and the region, two or more candidates have been registered. City mayor Vladimir Khodyrev has to vie for a seat with

business-like and enterprising 50-year-old Valeriy Zverev, director-general of the Pobeda industrial amalgamation specializing in the production of construction materials. The first secretary of the city party committee, Anatoliy Gerasimov, will be competing against Yuriy Boldyrev, a vigorous young engineer backed by the city's informal public groups.

None of those taking part in the race are sitting on their hands. Their present routine includes several meetings with voters every day. Accompanied by campaign staffs they are now working through the home stretch of the election marathon.

Democratic Union Group Holds Moscow Demonstration
LD1403134989 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 14 Mar

[Text] The daily MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA has called for taking tough measures against those who, in contravention of the Soviet legislation, stage unsanctioned meetings in the street and upset public order, playing into the hands of those who oppose the perestroyka. The daily described a group of people who waved the flag of tsarist Russia outside a subway station in Moscow on Sunday as insolent stooges. The group calls itself Democratic Union. It is given to staging antigovernment actions which generated indignation among the Muscovites. On Sunday, members of the group shouted slogans belittling the socialist system and the process of democratization underway in the USSR. Organizers of the meeting insulted and threatened those who called for stopping the antisocial actions. Law enforcers had to detain the most flagrant provocateurs.

50,000 Russians Rally Against Estonian Leadership
LD1403175489 Helsinki International Service in Finnish 1600 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Some 50,000 Russian workers gathered today in Tallinn to demonstrate against the Estonian leadership of the republic. The Inter-movement also threatened the party leadership and the government with strikes if they do not agree to their demands. Hannu Vilpponen has followed the demonstration in Tallinn.

[Vilpponen] The Inter-movement this time secured participation in its demonstration because the march started directly from factories and within working hours. Factory and department leaders marched as standard bearers in the front row so that all workers could follow them voluntarily.

Approximately 3 weeks ago the Inter-movement could only gather a few hundred people; today the park of the Tallinn City House of Culture was full. The organizers themselves estimated the number of people taking part at 80,000- 100,000, but estimates by the militia put it at about 50,000. In this demonstration the red flags were honored and the occasion started in a grand way with the Soviet national anthem. So-called message bearers from working collectives travelled for the occasion all the way from Moscow, Leningrad, and Murmansk. The demand presented a week and a half ago at the Congress of the Inter-movement about dividing Estonia into a Russian and an Estonian Estonia was not heard during the demonstration, although it was suggested at a strike committee meeting a few days ago that Tallinn would be declared the capital of the Russian population, and Estonians could keep Tartu as their capital.

Now the demand has been changed so as to divide the Estonian Supreme Soviet into two chambers—a Russian and an Estonian chamber. At the end of the occasion a list of 14 demands was presented, the central part of which is to halt the oppression of the Russian population and to give equal rights to all national groups. One speaker gave evidence of the oppression of Russians, stating that pupils in Russian schools do not have separate language classes, unlike Estonian schools. The speaker also said that Russian workers are prepared to study Estonian if they can do so at offices and during working hours, like managers. According to the communique, the new language law of Estonia should be totally abolished.

In almost all the speeches by people bringing a greeting, the demand was repeated that the blue, black, and white flag of Estonia must be taken down from the Pikk Hermann Tower. The speakers said that they are not against a national flag as such, but that it must not fly atop a national symbol. It was considered better, however, to design a totally new national flag, and the most important demand was that it should be red in color.

The Inter-movement and its supporters feel particular irritation toward the media of Estonia. They claim that their statements and opinions have been consistently distorted in the press, radio, and television; those things should thus be under the direct control of the working collectives.

This time the speeches did not attack party leader Valyayas directly; however, according to the Inter-movement, Ideological Secretary Nikk Titma should be replaced. People's Front leader Edgar Savisaar, however, should, according to the speakers, be dismissed from the party because of antisocialist opinions the Russians have heard from him.

The Inter-movement gave the Estonian government and party leadership 2 weeks to answer the demands, and if they are not met there will be 1-day support strikes. The Inter-movement, together with the association of working collectives, has already arranged strike committees in all factories managed by Russians.

The Inter-movement has managed to gather such a large crowd that the party leadership must now sit down with them in order to discuss the situation, and because there are influental party members in the Inter-movement. The fact that the demonstration went off calmly and

without apparent clashes gives the party leadership a chance to sit at the negotiation table without losing face. It is another matter whether it is possible to find a compromise between the demands of the party leadership and the Inter-movement, because their demands are very different.

Estonian People's Front Founder Visits Sweden

PM1403150589 London DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 14 Mar 89 p 2

[Scandinavia correspondent Julian Isherwood report: "Estonia Seeks Allies in Drive for Economic Independence"]

[Text] The founder of Estonia's nationalist People's Front yesterday called for allies outside the Soviet Union in his party's drive for economic independence for the Soviet Baltic republics.

Mr Edgar Savisaar said his party needed help from outside the Soviet Union if it was to succeed.

"We want the world to understand what we are fighting for, and that we cannot do it alone," said Mr Savisaar, a member of the regional parliament, who is visiting Sweden.

"We are aiming at a market economy accepting pluralistic ideals of property ownership, both for private people and foreign companies. We want to stimulate an entrepreneurial spirit," he said.

The Front was recently registered for local elections due to take place this autumn as the first and, as yet, only party allowed to complete with the Estonian Communist Party.

Moscow last month decided to introduce limited economic autonomy in some republics, including Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, in 1990. But the Estonian People's Front has demanded total independence in all areas except military and foreign affairs.

Latvian International Front Rules Published

LD0803124389 Riga CINA in Latvian 19 Feb 89 p 3

["Rules of the Latvian SSR Working People's International Front" adopted at its 8 January 1989 constituent congress]

[Text] As a result of an initiative by the Latvian SSR working people, a voluntary public organization (Interfront) was formed with the goal of consolidating and making more active the healthy forces of the republic's society for carrying out restructuring begun and being led by the CPSU.

Interfront unites within its ranks workers, peasants, intelligentsia, employees, students, and retired people, irrespective of their nationality or race, holding either party or religious convictions.

Interfront recognizes the CPSU's leading role in society and regards the Communist Party as the center of the restructuring policy. It operates independently and democratically, in accordance with the USSR and Latvian SSR constitutions, with union and republic legislation, and with Interfront declaration and rules. It cooperatives with the party, with soviets and other state organs, with labor collectives councils, and with public and sociopolitical organizations having goals and tasks in common with Interfront.

I. Fundamental Tasks

1. To raise the living standards of inhabitants and to protect their social interests.

2. To ensure the further free development of any people and nationality in Soviet Latvia and to strengthen friendship and cooperation among peoples on the basis of internationalism.

3. To give the necessary support for achieving economic independence for the Latvian SSR within the framework of the united national economic complex of the USSR.

4. To protect the environment and fight for its ecological purity.

5. To fight actively against bureaucracy and extremism, social injustice, and manifestations of Stalinism, chauvinism, anti-Semitism, and other forms of hatred based on nationality.

6. To protect the rights of citizens of any nationality in accordance with international and Soviet legislation.

7. To promote the development of the national self-awareness of all peoples of Soviet Latvia, taking into account the need to raise the standard of political, legal, economic, and ecological culture.

8. To perfect socialist democracy and ensure openness.

II. Principal Forms of Activity

1. To organize public undertakings in the solution of those national economic, ecological, cultural, and other questions most important to the republic and to participate actively in them.

2. To work out and submit proposals to party, to legislative and other state organs, and to public organizations on topically urgent questions of political and socioeconomic life, on draft laws, and on other normative acts.

3. To prepare and present constructive proposals on those draft documents handed over for discussion by the entire people, to nominate candidates for and participate in election campaigns of people's soviets at all stages.

4. To participate in referendums and to arrange meetings, disputes, inhabitants' questionnaires, and sociopolitical and cultural undertakings.

5. To participate in the mercy movement.

6. To inform the republic's inhabitants, by way of the press, radio, and television, on Interfront's activity and to put out its own publication.

III. Participants and Supporters

1. Any inhabitant of the republic who has reached the age of 14, who adheres to the rules, and who recognizes the declaration and participates in attaining Interfront's goals and carrying out its tasks can become an Interfront participant.

2. Citizens who want to become Interfront participants may join one of its organizations according to workplace, school, or residence.

3. National cultures, vocational, religious, cultural, and other societies, as well as associations and councils of war and labor veterans which have been registered according to procedure can be collective Interfront participants.

4. Persons who want to further the solution of Interfront tasks, but for some reason are not participants, may cooperate with the front supporters and may unite in support groups.

5. Interfront's young people's groups unite persons from 14 to 18 years of age who nominate their representatives to Interfront councils.

6. Interfront participants have the right to elect, and, having reached majority, to be elected to, any Interfront organ; to participate in all of its undertakings; to discuss questions of its activity; to raise proposals; openly to express and defend their standpoints; to carry out undertakings in conformity with Interfronts rules and declarations; to criticize at meetings and congresses any Interfront participant; to submit questions, applications, and proposals to any leading Interfront organ and receive replies; to make use of legal and other defense assistance by Interfront.

7. An Interfront participant has the right to leave freely, reporting this to the organization with which he has been registered.

8. An Interfront participant can be dismissed for the following reasons: for transgression against the rules or non-adherence to the declaration; for attempts to cause internationalist hatred; for manifestations of an administratively bureaucratic work style; for suppression of criticism and for persecution on that basis; for action that disgraces Interfront.

The question of a participant's dismissal is decided by a simple majority of votes at a meeting of Interfront's primary organization.

9. A member of a rayon or town council can be dismissed from Interfront activity or from the position occupied in its council by a decision of a meeting of the rayon or town primary organization or by a decision of the republican council.

10. A member of the republican council can be prevented from carrying out his duties by a decision of the council until such time as the congress adopts a final decision on his dismissal.

11. Any Interfront participant can be released from his duties in those instances in which he is called upon to answer criminal charges. The question of his continued participation in the front will be examined after the court has pronounced its verdict and that verdict has come into force.

IV. Organizational Structure

1. Interfront is being formed according to territorial and production principles. There are primary organizations at its foundation, which are being formed at labor or educational estalbishments where there are not fewer than three Interfront participants. The primary organizations also can be formed at Interfront participants' places of residence.

2. Primary organizations having 3-10 Interfront participants elect at their meetings by open ballot a leader for a period laid down at the meeting.

3. Primary organizations having more than 10 Inerfront participants elect by open ballot the organization's council, council chairman, and treasurer, who can be subjected to re-election at any subsequent meeting. The council's numerical composition is determined by the meeting.

The council of an Interfront primary organization organizes its work in accordance with the declaration and rules, and informs the organization's meeting and higher organs about its activity and the utilization of its monetary resources.

4. The councils of primary organizations at enterprises, sovkhozes, kolkhozes, establishments, and scientific and educational institutions can form groups of Interfront participants as structural units of these organizations. A meeting of each group is to elect by open ballot a leader for a fixed term of office.

5. Rayon councils are formed to organize and coordinate the activity of Interfront primary organizations in carrying out joint undertakings in the territories of rayons. Interfront town councils or town-rayon combined councils can be formed for this purpose in towns subordinate to the republic.

Representatives to these councils are elected at joint meetings of primary organizations in accordance with the representational norms laid down by the organizations or the council.

A town or rayon council meeting elects a chairman, who becomes the official representative to the corresponding Interfront council; a treasurer; and an auditing commission. The council has its own seal and bank account. It regularly informs primary organizations and the republican council about its activities.

Rayon or town councils organize meetings and rayon or town conferences, register newly established primary organizations, or dissolve those in which the majority of particpants do not adhere to the Interfront rules or declaration. The decision of a rayon or town council to dissolve a primary organization can be applied to the republican Interfront council.

Primary organizations can decide to recall their representatives from town or rayon councils and elect new representatives.

6. Interfront's highest organ is the republican congress, which will be convened once a year at a time to be determined by the republican council. An extraordinary congress can be convened if demanded by one-third of republican council members or by one-third of the total number of rayon councils and primary organizations.

Delegates to the republican congress are elected at towns or rayon conferences in accordance with the representational norms laid down by the republican Interfront council.

7. The congresses or conferences of rayons or towns, primary organization meetings, and Interfront councils are at all stages competent to adopt decisions if more than half of the delegates or particpants take part in them.

8. The republican Interfront congress is competent to decide:

—to form or dissolve Interfront;
—to adopt the rules and declaration and make alterations in them;
—to discuss and confirm the principal directions of activity;
—to elect by open ballot the republican council, which must include representatives of every rayon or town;
—to elect by open ballot an auditing commission and a treasurer, and to confirm the press organ's title;
—to hear and give an assessment of the activities of the republican council, the auditing commission, and the editor of the press republican.

The decisions are regarded as adopted when no fewer than two-thirds of the participating delegates have voted for them.

9. The republican council works in between the congresses, examines and decides questions concerning Interfront activity, except those that lie within the sole competence of the congress.

A presidium, numbering up to 10 people, is elected by an open ballot from the council's composition.

The meeting of the republican council confirms:

—the chairmen of permanent commissions;
—the responsible editor of the press organ;
—the regulations governing the activity of the presidium and permanent commissions, and the decision adopted by the presidium in between the meetings of the council;
—attributes that can be made and sold only with the approval of the council.

In the name of Interfront, the republican council can submit to party, state, and public organizations draft proposals and resolutions of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet; can issue statements and demands on problems of topical urgency in public life; can establish business-like contacts with the leading organs of state, political, and public organizations concerning the organization of various joint undertakings; can determine the directions of its econmic activity and the composition of administrative and technical staff; and can distribute the means for their maintenance. In order to ensure their activity, rayon, town, and republican Interfront councils can engage citizens for work in the administrative apparatus, as well as technical personnel, in accordance with labor legislation.

When necessary, the council may request the approval of republican or all-union ministries for the formation and dispatch of special Interfront public commissions to investigate or improve the methods for providing medical, daily-life, and transportation services to inhabitants or the activities of industrial enterprises, and of cultural and educational, corrective labor, and other establishments. The republican council comes together for its meetings according to necessity, but not less frequently than four times a year; and adopts decisions by majority vote, if not fewer than two-thirds of the council's members participate in work.

The republican council informs Interfront particpants and the republic's inhabitants about its work and decisions via the press, radio, and television.

On the decision of the congress, members of the republican council presidium present proposals in the name of Interfront to state organs, establishments, and public and sociopolitical organizations, based on Interfront's declaration and rules.

10. The Latvian SSR Working People's International Front and its town and rayon organizations have the rights of a juridical person.

11. Interfront reserves the right to apply for defense at court, at law protection organs, and at state and public organizations in the following instances:

—when individual citizens, organizations, or their representatives spread slanderous inventions about its activity;
—when the honor and respect of Interfront particpants is offended and humiliated by word, writing, or deeds;
—when the name, financial means and property, making and selling of Interfront attribtues is made use of without its approval.

12. The republican council presidium is the council's leading organ and it operates in between council meetings of the council. Council members are official Interfront representatives.

Meetings of the presidium take place according to necessity, and their decisions are in force if they have been adopted by no fewer than two-thirds of presidium members.

V. Property and Finances

1. Interfront has its own property and financial means, which are kept in bank accounts.

Councils of all stages, as juridical persons, carry property responsibility for the results of their activity.

The basis of material and financial means is formed by the voluntary membership fees of Interfront participants, and also by the voluntary contributions of organizations, enterprises, cooperatives, and individual citizens, by means collectively earned by Interfront participants, and by the means of cooperatives founded by Interfront. Financial means can be paid into the accounts of rayons or republican councils by a bill of payment. Their use is permissible only for direct purposes, which are laid down by the bill of payment.

2. The amounts of monthly voluntary membership fees for Interfront participants are determined by the primary organization's meeting. By a decision of the primary organization, a share of these resources is transferred to the rayon, town, and republican Interfront councils; the primary organization uses the remaining amount.

3. Interfront's material and financial means are used to support its organizational, economic, and other activities.

4. Republican, town, and rayon councils can determine monetary remuneration to presidium members, chairmen, and members of permanent commissions.

5. The chairmen and treasurers of rayon and town councils have the right of signature on financial documents. At the first meeting of the republican council after a congress, confidential persons are elected from the presidium's composition who, besides the treasurer, have the right to sign financial documents.

6. The financial activities of republican, town, and rayon Interfront councils are controlled by the auditing comission elected at the congress.

The financial activity of Interfront primary organizations is controlled by the auditing commissions of rayon councils.

Lithuanian Central Committee Plenum Held 21 Feb

PM0803125889 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 22 Feb 89 p 1

[Unattributed "Information Report on the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] The 17th Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum was held in Vilnius 21 February 1989. The plenum discussed the following questions:

1. On the work of party organizations in rallying the republic's public to resolve the tasks of restructuring.
2. Organizational questions.
3. Appointment of Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee commissions.

A report on the first item was delivered by Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

The following took part in the debate: Kyastutis Zaletskas, first secretary of Vilnius party gorkom; Algimantas Stankyavichyus, personal pensioner; Yuozas Kuoleiis, member of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee; Yonas Guretskas, secretary of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Vitautas Sakalauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers; Genrikas Zabulis, Lithuanian SSR minister of public education; Stanislovas Gedraytis, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee; Vladislav Shved, first secretary of Oktyabrskiy party raykom in Vilnius; Romualdas Rimaytis, first secretary of Kaunas party gorkom; Vatslovas Volkovas, first secretary of Shyaulyay party gorkom; Vitautas Nortkus, first secretary of Panyamunskiy party raykom in Kaunas;

Kyastutis Ashmonas, worker at the "Baltiya" Shipbuilding Plant; Vitautas Astrauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Edvardas Stalmokas, chairman of the "Pilyakalnis" Kolkhoz in Kretingskiy Rayon; Pranas Gabrenas, personal pensioner; and Sigizmundas Shimkus, rector of Vilnius Higher Party School.

A resolution was adopted on the question discussed.

The plenum released Lenginas Shepetis from his duties as secretary and Bureau member of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee in connection with his retirement on pension. Valerionas Baltrunas, formerly chief of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Organizational Party and Cadre Work Department, was coopted onto the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. He was elected Bureau member and secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

Igor Izvekov, Lithuanian SSR minister of local industry; Vladislovas Yankauskas, chief of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Economy and Social Questions Department; Pranas Kuris, Lithuanian SSR minister of justice; and Sergey Rybakov, first secretary of Alitus party gorkom, were transferred from candidate membership to membership of the Central Committee.

The plenum appointed five Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee commissions.

Lyudmila Faturova was appointed chief of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee General Department.

Yevgeniy Trofimov, sector chief at the CPSU Central Committee Party Building and Cadre Work Department, took part in the plenum.

Draft Lithuanian SSR Constitution Published

PM1003182089 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 28 Feb 89 pp 1-4

["Draft Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic"]

[Text] The Lithuanian people,
who formed their own state in the early 13th century,
who have resolutely defended their freedom and independence for centuries,
who preserved their language, written language, and culture,
who regenerated their statehood in 1918,
creating a socialist rule-of-law state within the USSR at the new stage of historical development,
asserting the ideals of humanism and social justice,
setting themselves the goal of securing for Lithuania statehood and the conditions for historical survival and the development of national culture in the land of their forefathers,
developing friendly relations with all peoples,
recognizing that they are a part of the nations of the entire world community,
adopt and proclaim the present Constitution.

I. Fundamentals of the Social System and Policy of the Lithuanian SSR

Chapter 1. Political System

Article 1. The Lithuanian SSR is a sovereign, socialist rule-of-law state that expresses the common will and interests of the people of Lithuania, workers, peasants, and intelligentsia, and inhabitants of the republic of all nationalities.

Article 2. All power in the Lithuanian SSR comes from the people and belongs to the people.

The people express their sovereign will by means of elections of soviets of people's deputies and the right of early recall of deputies and through referendums.

The people exercise state power through soviets of people's deputies, which constitute the political basis of the Lithuanian SSR. All other state organs are monitored by and accountable to the soviets of people's deputies.

The soviets are also the guarantee of the people's sovereignty and their sovereign rights on the territory of the republic.

Article 3. The formation and activity of Lithuanian SSR state organs are based on the principles of democracy; all organs of state power, from top to bottom, are elected, and they and their officials are accountable to the people and may be recalled in the event of loss of confidence in them.

Article 4. All state organs, state, political, and social organizations and their officials, and social movements in the republic operate on the basis of the rule of law and social justice, comply with the USSR Constitution, the Lithuanian SSR Constitution, and the laws, and ensure the preservation of law and order, the public interest, and the rights and freedoms of citizens.

Article 5. The most important questions of state and public life in the republic are submitted for discussion by the people, and are also resolved by means of referendums.

A referendum is announced by the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies on its own initiative or on a proposal from at least one-third of the Lithuanian SSR people's deputies or 300,000 voters.

Rayon and city referendums may be held to resolve the most important questions of local significance.

The procedure for holding referendums is laid down by law.

Article 6. The Communist Party of Lithuania—a component part of the CPSU—is the political vanguard of society.

The Communist Party of Lithuania serves the people and rallies them to the building of socialism.

All party organizations and party organs operate within the framework of the Constitution and laws of the USSR and the Lithuanian SSR.

Article 7. Political, trade union, youth, women's, veterans, cooperative, and social organizations and social movements, creative unions, and scientific societies, in accordance with their statutory and program tasks, participate in the management of state and public affairs and the resolution of political, economic, and sociocultural questions.

Article 8. The labor collective is the master of the enterprise (farm, organization), and autonomously resolves questions of the selection of leaders, management, production, social development, strengthening of labor discipline, and improvement of qualifications of the enterprise's cadres.

The labor collective participates in state management according to the procedure laid down by law.

Article 9. The content of the Lithuanian SSR sociopolitical system is socialist democracy, sovereignty of the people and nation, self-management by social organizations and their participation in the management of state and public affairs, the legal basis of state and public life, the socialist rule of law, glasnost, and people's control.

Chapter 2. Economic System

Article 10. The basis of the economic system of the Lithuanian SSR is socialist ownership of the means of production in the form of state, kolkhoz, and other cooperative ownership.

Socialist ownership also applies to the property of trade union and other social organizations which they need in order to carry out their statutory tasks.

The state guarantees citizens the right to personal property and the right to inherit that property.

The state safeguards socialist property and creates the conditions for augmenting it, including the possibility of combining various forms of ownership and on this basis creating mixed and joint-stock as well as interrepublican and international enterprises and organizations.

No one has the right to utilize socialist property for personal enrichment or for other selfish purposes.

Article 11. The land, its wealth, the waters, the continental shelf, forests, and natural resources are the exclusive state property of the republic and are wholly and entirely at the disposal of the Lithuanian SSR.

The main means of production in industry, construction, and agriculture, means of transportation and communication, banks, the property of state-organized trade, municipal, and other enterprises, the main urban housing stock, and other production and nonproduction facilities created from state resources, as well as the most important historical and cultural monuments located on the republic's territory, are the property of the republic.

All-union, republican (union republican), and mixed international enterprises and organizations operate on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR in accordance with procedure laid down by legislation.

Article 12. Means of production and other property necessary for the implementation of statutory tasks are the property of kolkhozes and other cooperative organizations and their associations.

The land occupied by kolkhozes is allocated to them for free and perpetual use. Other natural resources are made available by the state to kolkhozes and other cooperative organizations for use in accordance with fixed-term contracts on payment of the taxes stipulated by law.

Kolkhozes, like other land users, are obliged to utilize efficiently the land and other natural wealth made available to them, and to handle them with care.

Article 13. The basis of the personal property of citizens of the Lithuanian SSR is formed by income from labor, as well as income from engaging in a legitimate trade. Personal property may include legally stipulated means of production, tools of individual labor activity, a trade, or a subsidiary cottage industry, and premises; a house, dacha, or apartment in an apartment block in the state, social, or housing cooperative stock, a part of another cooperative building, articles for household use, personal consumption and convenience, and savings from earned income.

Citizens may have the use of plots of land allocated in accordance with the procedure laid down by law for individual or subsidiary farming, for fruit and vegetable farming, and for individual housing construction and the construction of dachas or premises for engaging in economic activity or a craft. Plots of land are made available to citizens in perpetuity and free. They are left to heirs without the right of transfer to other land users. Citizens must utilize rationally the land plots made available to them. The state, its organizations, kolkhozes, and other cooperative organizations give citizens the necessary assistance in individual and subsidiary farming.

Property in the personal ownership or use of citizens must not be used to the detriment of society's interests.

Article 14. The source of the growth of public wealth and the prosperity of the people and of every Soviet person is labor.

The state provides citizens with sufficient jobs, creates the opportunity for improving qualifications and mastering new specialities, guarantees the right to form cooperatives and engage in individual labor activity, and stops the emergence of relations of exploitation.

Remuneration for labor is based on the principle: "From each according to his capabilities, to each according to his labor," depending on the quantity and quality of work done and on its social significance. The state defines the scale of tax on income subject to taxation.

Article 15. The supreme aim of social production is the satisfaction of people's material and spiritual needs.

In supporting and encouraging people's creative activeness, the state concerns itself with the acceleration of scientific and tehcnical progress and the improvement of the structure of social production and production relations, creates the necessary prerequisites for increasing labor productivity, production efficiency, and the technical standard of output, improving its quality, and developing the services sphere in general, and implements an integrated policy of prices and monitoring of compliance with state price discipline.

Article 16. The economic system of the Lithuanian SSR consists of economically autonomous state and cooperative associations, enterprises, and organizations and mixed and joint-stock firms and associations that base their activity on the principles of economic expediency, full economic accountability, and self-financing, as well as individual producers and other participants in individual economic and labor activity.

The development of the republic's economy is regulated by the state by means of plans and programs for economic and social development and economic levers, without detriment to the autonomy of associations, enterprises, organizations, firms, and associations of firms.

Trade and economic relations between Lithuanian SSR organizations and USSR organizations under union jurisdiction and organizations of other union republics are based, within the framework of the USSR national economic complex, on the principles of voluntary action and equal rights on the basis of contracts concluded.

Trade and economic relations between the Lithuanian SSR and foreign states and their enterprises and organizations are based on the contracts concluded.

Article 17. In the Lithuanian SSR individual labor based on the personal labor of citizens and members of their families is permitted. The state regulates individual labor activity, ensuring that it is used in the interests of the individual and society.

Article 18. In the interests of present and future generations, the Lithuanian SSR regulates the utilization of natural resources and their restoration and augmentation and protects the earth and its wealth, soils, forests, water sources, the atmosphere, and the plant and animal world, as well as the landscape and individual natural sites and localities that are characteristic of the republic and of value to it from the scientific, cultural, or aesthetic viewpoint. In extending economic activity the state and society adopt all necessary measures, including the reduction and cessation of production, to ensure a healthy environment for man. To this end comprehensive programs are formulated and implemented and nature conservation funds set up.

Effective economic, administrative, and other legal sanctions are applied against individuals, associations, enterprises, institutions and organizations, as well as foreign physical and legal entities, responsible for the depletion of the land and its wealth, pollution of water sources and the air, and radiation contamination, damage to the plant and animal world, and failure to implement necessary nature conservation measures.

Chapter 3. Social Development and Culture

Article 19. The social basis of the Lithuanian SSR is a community and alliance of all social strata of the people—workers, peasants, and intelligentsia.

The state seeks to strengthen the social harmony of society and promotes the all-around development and cooperation of all ethnic groups living in the Lithuanian SSR and the maintenance of cultural links with Lithuanians living abroad.

Article 20. In accordance with the communist ideal that "free development of each is a condition of free development of all," the state grants opportunities for citizens to use their creative forces, capabilities, and talents and for the all-around development of the individual.

Article 21. The state is concerned to improve working conditions and ensure work safety on the basis of scientific and technical progress.

Article 22. The Lithuanian SSR consistently seeks social and cultural progress in rural areas.

Article 23. On the basis of increased productivity of social labor, the state is concerned to increase the level of labor remuneration and the population's real income, and guarantees normal living conditions for all students who are not available for work and citizens who are temporarily out of work.

Article 24. The Lithuanian SSR protects the population's health, develops the system of health care, social security, trade, and consumer and municipal services. It encourages mass physical culture and sport and promotes their development.

Article 25. In the Lithuanian SSR a national system of public education operates that accords with the region's historical and cultural traditions as well as the avenues of national economic development. It gives the population vocational training and the humanitarian general education that is necessary for raising aware, socially active citizens.

Cadres trained at higher and secondary specialized and vocational educational establishments are provided with work in spheres of the national economy, culture, science, and other spheres of social activity.

Opportunities are created for citizens of all nationalities living in the republic to have their children educated in their native language at secondary school, to develop their national culture, to learn Lithuanian, and to study the Lithuanian people's culture and history.

The organization of the public education system is defined by the Lithuanian SSR Law on Public Education.

Article 26. In the Lithuanian SSR the development of science, the training of scientific cadres, the acquisition of scientific degrees and titles, and the introduction of the results of scientific research in the national economy and other spheres of public life are ensured.

Article 27. The Lithuanian SSR is concerned to develop national culture, augment and develop spiritual values, protect the cultural heritage—monuments of history, architecture, art, and other sectors of culture—and ensure their wide utilization in the interests of people's moral and aesthetic education and the improvement of their cultural level.

The republic encourages in every way the development of professional art and people's artistic creativity.

Article 28. The Lithuanian SSR is concerned to satisfy the needs of Lithuanians living in republics of the USSR for national cutlure and education.

Chapter 4. Foreign Policy Activity and Defense of the Socialist Fatherland

Article 29. The Lithuanian SSR is guided in its foreign policy activity by the foreign policy aims, tasks, and principles defined by the Lithuanian SSR Constitution and the USSR Constitution.

The republic maintains economic, scientific, and cultural links with foreign countries and cooperates with compatriots living abroad.

The supreme principle of the Lithuanian SSR's foreign policy is the preservation of peace.

The Lithuanian SSR participates in foreign policy in the course of the USSR's resolution of questions of war and peace.

The propaganda of war is banned in the Lithuanian SSR.

Article 30. The defense of the socialist fatherland is one of the most important functions of the state and is the cause of the whole people.

Universal military service exists in the Lithuanian SSR.

In accordance with the procedure laid down by law, national troop formations of the Lithuanian SSR may be formed, subordinate to the higher command of the USSR Armed Forces and to the republican govenrment.

Article 31. The duties of state organs, social organizations, adn citizens in ensuring the country's security and strengthening its defense capability are defined by legislation.

II. The State and the Individual

Chapter 5. Citizenship of the Lithuanian SSR. Equality of Citizens

Article 32. In accordance with the single union citizenship that is established in the USSR, every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR is a citizen of the USSR.

The significance and procedure for acquisition and loss of citizenship of the Lithuanian SSR are defined by the law on citizenship of the Lithuanian SSR.

Citizenship of the Lithuanian SSR may be acquired on an equal basis by citizens of all nationalities living on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR.

Citizens of other union republics enjoy identical rights with citizens of the Lithuanian SSR on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR.

Immigration to the Lithuanian SSR from other Soviet republics is regulated by Lithuanian SSR legislation in light of the republic's needs and potential.

Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR abroad enjoy the protection and patronage of the Lithuanian SSR and the USSR.

Exit from and entry to the Lithuanian SSR are regulated by USSR and Lithuanian SSR legislation.

Article 33. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR are equal before the law, regardless of origin, social or material position, racial or national affiliation, sex, education, language, attitude toward religion, type or nature of employment, place of residence, or other circumstances.

The equality of Lithuanian SSR citizens is guaranteed in all spheres of economic, political, social, and cultural life.

Article 34. Women and men have equal rights in the Lithuanian SSR.

The exercise of these rights is ensured by granting women equal opportunities with men in the provision of education and vocational training, in labor, labor remuneration, and promotion at work, and in sociopolitical and cultural activity, and by special measures to protect women's work and health; by the creation of conditions that enable women to combine work with motherhood; and by legal protection and material and moral support for mothers and children, including the granting of paid leave and other privileges to pregnant women and mothers and the gradual reduction of working time for women with young children.

The work of mothers in caring for and raising at home three or more children is equated with socially significant activity and is remunerated according to the procedure laid down by law.

Article 35. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR of different races and nationalities have equal rights.

The exercise of these rights is ensured by the Leninist policy of comprehensive development and cooperation of peoples, the region's ethnic traditions, the education of citizens in the spirit of national self-awareness and internationalism, and the right to use the Lithuanian language, the native language, and the languages of other peoples of the USSR.

Any direct or indirect restriction of rights whatsoever or the establishment of direct or indirect advantages for citizens on the basis of racial and national criteria, as well as any propaganda of racial or national exclusivity, hostility, or scorn, are punishable by law.

Article 36. Foreign citizens and persons without citizenship in the Lithuanian SSR are guaranteed the rights and freedoms stipulated by law, including the right of recourse to the courts and other state organs for the protection of their personal, property, family, and other rights.

Foreign citizens and persons without citizenship who are on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR must respect the Lithuanian SSR Constitution and the USSR Constitution and observe Soviet laws.

Article 37. The Lithuanian SSR grants the right of asylum to foreigners persecuted for defending the interests of working people and the cause of peace, for participating in the revolutionary and national liberation movement, or for progressive sociopolitical, scientific, or other creative activity.

Chapter 6. Basic Rights, Freedoms, and Duties of Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR

Article 38. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR enjoy in full the socioeconomic, political, and personal rights and freedoms proclaimed and guaranteed by the Lithuanian SSR Constitution, the USSR Constitution, and Soviet laws.

Citizens' utilization of rights and freedoms must not be detrimental to the interests of society and the state or to the rights of other citizens.

Article 39. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to labor—that is, to receive guaranteed work, paid in accordance with its quantity, quality, and social significance and no lower than the minimum set by the state—including the right to choose a type of socially necessary occupation in line with one's vocation, capabilities, vocational training, and education.

This right is ensured by the socialist system of management, the development of production forces, free vocational training, improvement of qualifications, and training in new specialities, and the development of the system of vocational guidance and work placement, and by the right to form cooperatives and engage in individual labor activity.

Article 40. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to leisure.

This right is ensured by the establishment of a working week not exceeding 41 hours for workers and employees, a reduced working day for a number of professions and industries and for juveniles, and reduced working time at night; the banning of night work by pregnant women and juveniles; the granting of annual paid leave and weekly rest days, as well as the expansion of the network of cultural enlightenment and health improvement institutions and the development of mass sport, physical culture, and tourism; and the creation of favorable opportunities for leisure on a neighborhood basis and other conditions for the rational utilization of free time.

The length of work time and leisure of kolkhoz members and members of other cooperatives is regulated by legislation.

Article 41. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to health care.

This right is ensured by free, skilled medical assistance provided by state health care institutions; a network of institutions for treating citizens and strengthening their health; the development of safety techniques and industrial hygiene; the implementation of wide preventive measures; measures to clean up the environment; special concern for the health of the young generation, including

the banning of child labor unrelated to education and labor training; protection of juvenile labor; and the development of medical science.

Every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR has the right to a healthy natural and living environment.

Article 42. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to material provision in old age or in the event of illness, total or partial loss of the ability to work, or the loss of family breadwinner.

This right is guaranteed by the social insurance of workers, employees, kolkhoz members, and members of production cooperatives and temporary disability allowances; the payment by the state and kolkhozes of pensions in old age and invalidity, and in the event of the loss of the breadwinner; job placement for citizens who have partially lost the ability to work; care of elderly citizens and the disabled; and other forms of social security.

The state encourages philanthropy and charity.

Article 43. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to housing.

This right is ensured by the development and preservation of the state and public housing stock, assistance for cooperative and individual housing construction, and other state aid in obtaining housing, as well as moderate state-regulated apartment rents and payments for municipal services. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR should take care of the housing made available to them.

Article 44. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to education.

This right is ensured by the free provision of all types of education, the creation of the conditions for the provision of universal secondary education of young people, and the wide development of vocational, technical, secondary specialized, and higher education; the provision of state grants and benefits to schoolchildren and students; the right to receive education in the native language; the creation of the conditions for self-education; and the provision of opportunities for tuition or advanced studies in educational establishments in other union republics or foreign states.

The fundamentals of the academic autonomy of VUZ's are laid down in legislation.

Article 45. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to enjoy the achievements of culture.

This right is ensured by the general accessibility of the assets of Soviet and world culture that exist in state and public collections; the development and rational siting of cultural enlightenment institutions on the republic's territory; the development of television and radio, book publishing and the periodical press, and the network of free libraries; and the expansion of cultural exchanges with foreign states.

Cultural collections, institutions, and foundations using state subsidies and the interests and amateur activities of social strata and groups are a national asset.

Article 46. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR are guaranteed freedom of scientific, technical, and artistic creativity.

The state creates the necessary material conditions for this, gives support to the republic's creative unions and voluntary societies, and organizes the introduction of inventions and rationalizations into the national economy and other spheres of life.

The copyrights of authors, inventors, and rationalizers are protected by the state.

Article 47. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to participate in the management and resolution of state and public affairs and the discussion and adoption of USSR and Lithuanian SSR laws and decisions of local significance.

This right is ensured by the opportunity to elect and be elected to soviets of people's deputies and other elected state organs and to take part in nationwide discussions and referendums, people's control, the work of state organs, social organizations, and organs of independent social activity, and meetings of labor collectives and neighborhoods.

Article 48. Every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR has the right to submit to state organs and social organizations proposals on improving their activity, and to criticize shortcomings in their work.

Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR also have the right of petition, that is, the right to appeal to organs of state power with a request that socially significant questions put forward by them be resolved legislatively or by other means.

Officials, state organs, and social organizations must examine citizens' proposals, complaints, and petitions, reply, and adopt the necessary measures within the time stipulated.

Persecution for criticism is prohibited. Persons persecuting others for criticism are called to account.

Article 49. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR are guaranteed freedom of speech, the press, meetings, rallies, street marches, and demonstrations.

The exercise of these political freedoms is ensured by making public buildings, streets, and squares available to working people and their organizations and by the wide dissemination of information and the opportunity to use the press, television, and radio.

These political freedoms may not be used for propaganda of racial or national hatred, or of inhumane, antidemocratic views and actions, which is hostile to socialism. Their exercise should not entail the infringement of public order or citizens' rights and freedoms.

Article 50. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR are guaranteed the right to collect and disseminate information on all questions with the exception of those involving state secrets or detrimental to the dignity or honor of the individual.

Article 51. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to unite to form social organizations and social movements with a view to realizing their political, economic, ecological, scientific, cultural, religious, and other interests, provided that this is not contrary to legislation.

Social organizations and social movements are guaranteed the conditions for the fulfillment of their statutory tasks.

The procedure for forming, registering, and disbanding social organizations and social movements is laid down by legislation.

Article 52. All citizens are guaranteed freedom of thought and conscience, freedom to profess or not profess religion, and equal rights singly or together to profess their convictions and views and express them in peaceful forms.

No one may force another person or may himself be forced to speak, conduct himself, or act against his conscience and convictions.

The church in the Lithuanian SSR is separate from the state, and the school from the church.

Article 53. The family, marriage, and motherhood are under the protection and patronage of the state.

Marriage is based on the voluntary consent of a woman and man; spouses are completely equal in family relations.

The state and society show concern for the family, providing social guarantees for the raising and education of children.

The state shows concern for the family by creating and developing the network of children's institutions, expanding and improving the services sphere, paying allowances on the birth of a child, and providing allowances and privileges to large familes, as well as other forms of allowances and assistance to the family.

The state regards it as a priority task of national significance to provide families, especially young families, with apartments.

Article 54. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR are guaranteed inviolability of the person.

On the basis of the presumption of innocence, no one may be subjected to prosecution as a criminal or offender without legitimate grounds and in violation of the procedure laid down. No one may be arrested other than in the cases stipulated by law, and only on the basis of a judicial decision or with the sanction of the prosecutor.

Every citizen is guaranteed the right to defense from the moment of his arrest, and also in cases of administrative offenses.

Article 55. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR are guaranteed inviolability of the home. No one has the right without legitimate grounds to enter a home against the will of the residents.

Article 56. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to free choice of place of residence, and the right to leave for any other country and to return home.

Article 57. The private life of citizens and confidentiality of correspondence, telephone conversations, and telegraphic communications are protected by law.

Article 58. Respect for the person and protection of the rights and freedoms of citizens is the duty of all state organs, social organizations, social movements, and officials.

Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to the protection of the courts against infringements of the honor, dignity, life, and health of the individual and his freedom and property.

Article 59. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to appeal against the actions of officials and state and public organs. Complaints must be examined according to the procedure and within the time laid down by law.

Actions committed by officials in violation of the law, in excess of their powers, and detrimental to citizens' rights may be the subject of an appeal to the court in accordance with the procedure laid down by law.

Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR have the right to compensation for damage caused by the unlawful actions of state or social organizations or officials in the execution of their duties.

Article 60. The exercise of rights and freedoms is inseparable from the citizen's performance of his duties.

A citizen of the Lithuanian SSR must observe the Lithuanian SSR Constitution, the USSR Constitution, and the laws.

Article 61. Conscientious labor in his chosen sphere of socially useful activity and the observance of labor discipline are a duty and a matter of honor for every able-bodied citizen of the Lithuanian SSR.

Article 62. A citizen of the Lithuanian SSR must protect and strengthen socialist property and handle the people's property carefully.

Article 63. A citizen of the Lithuanian SSR must protect the interests of the Lithuanian SSR and the USSR.

The defense of the socialist fatherland is the duty of every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR.

Crimes against the motherland are punishable in accordance with the law.

Article 64. Military service in the Soviet Armed Forces is the honorable duty of a citizen of the Lithuanian SSR.

Article 65. It is the duty of every citizen of the Lithuanian SSR to respect the national dignity of other citizens and strengthen the friendship of the USSR's nations and ethnic groups on the basis of equality.

Article 66. A citizen of the Lithuanian SSR must respect the rights and legitimate interests of other persons, be intolerant of antisocial actions, and promote the protection of public order in every way.

Article 67. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR must show concern for the raising of children, prepare them for socially useful labor, and raise honest and conscientious members of the socialist society. Children must show concern for their parents and help them.

Article 68. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR must protect nature, safeguard its wealth, and participate in the formation of a healthy ecological environment.

Article 69. Concern for the preservation of historical monuments and other cultural assets is the duty of citizens of the Lithuanian SSR.

Article 70. It is the international duty of citizens of the Lithuanian SSR, on the basis of equal rights and noninterference, to develop friendship and cooperation with the peoples of other countries and strengthen universal peace.

III. National Territorial Structure and Administrative Territorial Division of the Lithuanian SSR

Chapter 7. The Lithuanian SSR—A Sovereign State Within the USSR

Article 71. The Lithuanian SSR is a sovereign Soviet socialist state within the USSR.

The Lithuanian SSR's relations with the USSR and the other sovereign Soviet socialist republics are based on the principles enshrined in the Treaty on the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Article 72. The Lithuanian SSR retains the right of free secession from the USSR. The Lithuanian SSR exercises that right on the basis of the expression of the will of the republic's citizens through a referendum.

Article 73. USSR laws and other acts of the highest organs of state power and management of the USSR operate on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR provided that they do not violate its sovereign rights enshrined in the Lithuanian SSR Constitution.

The Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers suspends the operation of normative acts of USSR ministries and departments on the republic's territory in the event that they are contrary to the republic's interests and rights.

Article 74. The territory of the Lithuanian SSR may not be changed and its natural wealth may not be exploited without its consent.

The borders between the Lithuanian SSR and other union republics may be changed only by mutual consent between the republics concerned.

Article 75. The sovereign rights of the Lithuanian SSR are protected and defended both by the Lithuanian SSR itself and by the USSR.

Article 76. The Lithuanian SSR determines its administrative territorial division and resolves other questions connected with the structure of its administrative territorial composition.

Article 77. The most important administrative territorial units in the Lithuanian SSR are rayons and cities under republican jurisdiction.

Article 78. The Lithuanian SSR participates in the resolution of questions falling within the competence of the USSR, in the highest organs of state power and management, and in other organs of the USSR.

The Lithuanian SSR ensures the comprehensive development of the economy, the sphere of public education, science, and culture on its territory, promotes the exercise of the powers of the USSR on that territory, and coordinates and monitors the activity of associations, enterprises, institutions, and organizations under union jurisdiction on questions falling within the competence of the Lithuanian SSR.

Article 79. The Lithuanian SSR has the right to enter into relations with foreign states, conclude treaties and exchange diplomatic and consular missions with them, and participate in the activity of international organizations.

Article 80. The following matters fall within the competence of the Lithuanian SSR in the form of its highest organs of state power and management:

1) adoption of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution and amendments to it;
2) monitoring of compliance with the Lithuanian SSR Constitution;
3) Lithuanian SSR legislation, its interpretation, and oversight of its fulfillment;
4) resolution of questions of citizenship of the republic, preservation of state order, and citizens' rights and freedoms; institution of honorary titles and other state awards, as well as their presentation to citizens;
5) establishment of the procedure for the organization and activity of the highest and local organs of state power and management of the republic;
6) definition and implementation of socioeconomic policy;
7) drafting and approval of state plans and programs for economic and social development of the Lithuanian SSR and approval of reports on their fulfillment;
8) drafting and approval of the Lithuanian SSR state budget, approval of the report on its implementation; monitoring of the implementation of the local budgets of rayons and cities under republican jurisdiction; and of the activity of financial and credit institutions;
9) determination of income forming the Lithuanian SSR state budget in accordance with the procedure laid down by legislation;
10) leadership of the economy, scientific and technical progress, utilization of natural resources, and nature conservation in the republic;
11) establishment of the procedure for the use of the land, its wealth, forests, and waters;
12) leadership of housing and municipal services, trade and public catering, consumer services to the population, housing construction and the provision of amenities in cities and other settlements, road building, transportation, and communications; and the regulation of questions of migration and demography;
13) leadership of public education, training of skilled cadres, publishing, the mass media, cultural and scientific organizations and institutions of the Lithuanian SSR, health care, physical culture and sport, and social security; preservation of historical, cultural, and natural monuments; and conferment of scientific degrees and titles;
14) participation in ensuring the preservation of public order and state security;
15) election of the Constitutional Oversight Committee; appointment of the republic prosecutor; formation of courts and organs of the republic's judicial system and establishment of the procedure for their organization and activity;
16) amnesties and pardons for persons convicted by Lithuanian SSR courts;
17) leadership of political, economic, scientific, cultural, and humanitarian ties with foreign countries;
18) representation of the republic in international relations;
19) conclusion of treaties with other union Soviet socialist republics;
20) resolution of other questions of republican significance.

Article 81. The state language of the Lithuanian SSR is Lithuanian.

The Lithuanian SSR guarantees the necessary conditions for the development of other languages used in the republic.

IV. Soviets of People's Deputies of the Lithuanian SSR and the Procedure for Their Election

Chapter 8. System and Principles of Activity of Soviets of People's Deputies

Article 82. The soviets of people's deputies—the Congress of People's Deputies and Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, and rayon, city, city rayon, settlement, and village soviets of people's deputies—form an integrated system of representative organs of state power in the Lithuanian SSR.

Soviets of people's deputies are fully empowered executors of the people's sovereign will on their territory, operating on the basis of democracy and the law.

Article 83. The term of office of Lithuanian SSR soviets is 5 years.

Elections of soviets are set not later than 4 months prior to the expiry of their term of office.

Article 84. The most important questions of republican and local significance are examined and resolved at sittings of the Congress of People's Deputies and sessions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and local soviets, or are submitted to referendums by them.

The Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies elects the supreme soviet and the chairman of the supreme soviet. Local soviets elect soviet chairmen. The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and local soviets, with the exception of city (in the case of cities under rayon jurisdiction), settlement, and village soviets, have their own presidiums.

Soviets form commissions and create executive and operative [rasporyaditelnyye] organs, as well as other organs accountable to them.

Officials elected or appointed by soviets may not hold office for more than two consecutive terms.

Any official may be relieved of his post early in the event of improper execution of his official duties.

Article 85. Soviets form organs of people's control. People's control combines state control with social control by working people at enterprises, institutions, and organizations.

Organs of people's control check the fulfillment of the requirements of legislation and state programs and targets; combat violations of state discipline, manifestations of parochialism and a departmental approach, wastefulness and extravagance, red tape, and bureaucracy; coordinate the work of other control organs; and promote the improvement of the structure and work of the state apparatus.

Article 86. Soviets, directly and through the organs they create, lead all sectors of state, economic, and sociocultural building, adopt decisions, ensure their execution, and monitor the implementation of decisions.

Article 87. The activity of soviets is based on the collective, free, and businesslike discussion and resolution of questions, glasnost, regular accountability of executive and operative organs and other organs created by the soviets to the soviets and to the population, and wide participation of citizens in their work.

Soviets and the organs they create take account of public opinion in their activity, submit the most important questions of state and local significance for discussion by citizens, and systematically brief citizens on their work and the decisions adopted.

Chapter 9. Electoral System

Article 88. Elections of people's deputies are held in single-seat or multiseat electoral okrugs on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage, by secret ballot. With a view to ensuring the representation of social organizations and social movements according to the norms laid down by Lithuanian SSR laws, one-third of Lithuanian SSR people's deputies are elected from social organizations and social movements formed in accordance with the procedure laid down by law and having republican organs.

Elections of people's deputies from social organizations and social movements take place at their congresses, conferences, or plenums of their republican organs.

Article 89. Elections of people's deputies from electoral okrugs are general: Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR who have reached the age of 18 have the right to vote. The right to elect deputies from social organizations and social movements belongs to all delegates to their congresses and conferences who are of age, or members of plenums of their republican organs who are of age.

A citizen of the Lithuanian SSR who has reached the age of 18 may be elected a local soviet deputy, and a citizen who has reached the age of 21 may be elected a Lithuanian SSR deputy.

A citizen of the Lithuanian SSR may not be a people's deputy to more than two soviets simultaneously.

Persons who are members of the Lithuanian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee, and persons belonging to the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers and local soviet ispolkoms, with the exception of the chairmen of those organs, and leaders of departments, local soviet ispolkom departments and administrations, judges, and state arbitrators may not be deputies to the soviet by which they are appointed or elected.

Mentally ill citizens deemed incompetent by the courts, persons held in places of imprisonment, and persons sent to places of compulsory treatment by a court decision do not participate in elections.

Article 90. Elections of people's deputies from electoral okrugs are equal; a voter in a given electoral okrug has one vote; voters participate in the elections on equal terms.

In elections of people's deputies from a social organization or social movement, each delegate to the congress or conference or plenum member has one vote, and they all participate in the elections on equal terms.

Article 91. Elections of people's deputies from electoral okrugs are direct: People's deputies are elected directly by citizens.

People's deputies from social organizations or social movements are elected directly by the delegates to their congresses or conferences or by the members of plenums of their republican organs.

Article 92. Voting in elections of people's deputies is secret: Monitoring of the voters' expression of their will is not permitted.

Equal voting conditions are ensured for all voters, with a view to ensuring the free expression of will.

Article 93. The right to nominate candidate people's deputies for electoral okrugs belongs to labor collectives, social organizations, social movements, and meetings of voters in neighborhoods and servicemen at military units, while the right to nominate candidate people's deputies for social organizations and social movements belongs to their republican organs, which take into account proposals for candidate deputies submitted by the local organs of these organizations and movements, grass-roots collectives, and members of the organizations and movements.

The number of candidate people's deputies is not restricted. Every participant in an election meeting may propose any candidacy for discussion, including his own.

Any number of candidates can be included on the ballot papers.

During elections of people's deputies from the electoral okrugs, okrug election meetings can be held to discuss the candidate deputies nominated for the okrug and to make decisions on submitting candidates for registration in the relevant electoral commission.

The expenses connected with preparing and holding elections of people's deputies are met by the state.

Article 94. The preparation for elections of people's deputies is conducted openly and in accordance with glasnost.

The holding of elections is ensured by electoral commissions formed from representatives of the labor collectives, public organizations, public movements, and meetings of voters at their place of residence and of servicemen at military units.

Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR, labor collectives, public organizations, and public movements are guaranteed the opportunity for the free and comprehensive discussion of the political, professional, and personal qualities of candidate people's deputies and the right to agitate for or against a candidate at meetings, in the press, and on television and radio.

The procedure for holding elections of people's deputies is stipulated by laws of the Lithuanian SSR.

Complaints of violations during elections of people's deputies are examined by the electoral commissions and courts within the procedure laid down by law.

Article 95. Voters and public organizations give mandates to their deputies.

The relevant soviets of people's deputies examine the mandates and consider them in drafting plans for economic and social development, in compiling budgets, and in preparing decisions on other questions; they also organize the fulfillment of mandates and inform citizens of their implementation.

Chapter 10. The People's Deputy

Article 96. Deputies are fully empowered representatives of the people in the soviets of people's deputies.

Taking part in the work of the soviets, the deputies resolve questions of state, economic, and sociocultural building, organize the implementation of soviets' decisions, and monitor the work of state organs, enterprises, institutions, and organizations.

In his activity the deputy is guided by state interests, considers the requests of the electoral okrug's population and the interests expressed by the public organization or public movement which elected him, and seeks to implement the mandates of the voters, public organization, and public movement.

Article 97. The deputy exercises his powers as a rule without a break from production or official activity.

For the duration of the Congress of People's Deputies and sessions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet or local soviets of people's deputies, and for the exercise of his deputy's powers in other cases envisaged by the law, the deputy is relieved of the fulfillment of production or official commitments and is reimbursed for the expenditures connected with his activity as a deputy through the funds of the relevant republican or local budget.

Article 98. The deputy has the right to question the relevant state organs and officials, who are obliged to answer this question at the Congress of People's Deputies, supreme soviet session, or session of the local soviet of people's deputies.

The deputy has the right to put questions reagarding a deputy's activity to all state and public organs, enterprises, institutions, and organizations, to receive the necessary information from them, and to take part in examining the questions put to them. The leaders of the relevant state and public organs, enterprises, institutions, and organizations must immediately receive the deputy and examine his proposals within the stipulated deadline.

Article 99. The deputy is ensured conditions for the unimpeded and effective implementation of his rights and obligations.

The immunity of deputies and other guarantees of deputies' activity are laid down by the Law on the Status of People's Deputies in the USSR and by legislative acts of the Lithuanian SSR.

Article 100. The deputy must report on his work and the work of the Congress of People's Deputies, supreme soviet, or local soviet of people's deputies to the voters, collectives, public organizations, or public movements which have nominated him as candidate deputy or to the public organization or public movement which has elected him.

A deputy who has failed to justify the trust of voters or of the public organization or public movement can be recalled at any time by a decision of the majority of voters by the public organization or public movement which elected him within the procedure laid down by the law.

V. Supreme Organs of State Power and Management of the Lithuanian SSR

Chapter 11. Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies and Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet

Article 101. The Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies is the supreme organ of state power of the Lithuanian SSR.

The Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies is empowered to examine and resolve any question which the present Constitution assigns to the competence of the Lithuanian SSR.

The following are assigned to the exclusive competence of the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies:

1) the adoption of the Lithuanian SSR Constitution and the introduction of changes to it;

2) the approval of long-term state plans and the most important programs for the republic's economic and social development;

3) the election of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet;

4) the election of the chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet;

5) the election of the deputy chairmen and secretary of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet;

6) the approval of the chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers;

7) the approval of the chairman of the Lithuanian SSR People's Control Committee, the chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Court, the Lithuanian SSR prosecutor, and the Lithuanian SSR chief state arbitrator;

8) the election of the Lithuanian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee;

9) the repeal of legislative acts adopted by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet;

10) the announcement of a referendum.

The Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies passes the laws of the Lithuanian SSR and resolutions by a majority of votes of the total number of Lithuanian SSR people's deputies.

Article 102. The Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies consists of 450 deputies, who are elected in accordance with the following procedure:

300 deputies from territorial electoral okrugs with an equal number of voters;

150 deputies from the republic's public organizations and public movements in accordance with the norms laid down by the Law on Elections of People's Deputies of the Lithuanian SSR.

Article 103. The Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies is convened for its first sitting no later than 2 months after the elections.

On a representation from the mandate commission elected by, it the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies makes the decision to recognize the powers of deputies and, in the event of a violation of the legislation on elections, on the recognition of the election of individual deputies as invalid.

The Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies is convened by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Routine sittings of the Lithuanian Congress of People's Deputies are convened once a year. Extraordinary sittings are convened at the initiative of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet chairman, or at the proposal of at least one-fifth of the people's deputies of the Lithuanian SSR.

The first sitting of the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies after the elections is opened by the chairman of the Central Electoral Commission for elections of people's deputies of the Lithuanian SSR, and the sitting is then led by the chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet or his deputy.

Article 104. The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet is the permanently operating organ of state power of the Lithuanian SSR which exercises legislative, executive, and control functions.

The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet consists of 75 deputies. This organ is elected by supreme ballot from the ranks of the people's deputies of the Lithuanian SSR by the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies, to which the Supreme Soviet is subordinate.

The Lithuanian Congress of People's Deputies annually renews up to one-fifth of the members of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet sittings are led by the chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet or his deputy.

Article 105. The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet is convened annually by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium for routine—spring and fall—sessions lasting as a rule 3-4 months each.

Extraordinary sessions are convened by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium at its own initiative or at the proposal of at least one-third of deputies of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

A session of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet consists of sittings of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and of sittings of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet's permanent commissions held in the period between them. The session is opened and closed at sittings of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Upon the expiry of the powers of the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet retains its powers right up to the election of a new Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet by the newly elected Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies.

Article 106. The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet:

1) calls elections of people's deputies of the Lithuanian SSR and approves the composition of the Central Electoral Commission for elections of people's deputies of the Lithuanian SSR;
2) appoints the chairman of the Lithuanian Council of Ministers and upon his submission approves the composition of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers and makes changes to it; at the proposal of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers forms and dissolves ministries of the Lithuanian SSR and state committees of the Lithuanian SSR;
3) elects the Lithuanian SSR People's Control Committee, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Court and the people's judges of the rayon (city) people's courts, appoints the Lithuanian SSR chief state arbitrator, approves the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Court presidium and collegium for disciplinary matters, the Lithuanian SSR deputy prosecutors, the collegium of the Lithuanian SSR Prosecutor's Office, and the Lithuanian SSR State Arbitration Collegium;
4) regularly hears reports from the organs it forms or elects and from the officials it appoints or elects; when necessary, by a majority of two-third of the total number of its deputies, it resolves by secret ballot the question of confidence in the republic's government or an individual member of government;
5) lays down the procedure for the formation and activity of local organs of state power and the supreme and local organs of management of the Lithuanian SSR and lays down the legal status of the republic's public organizations;
6) lays down the system of the prosecutor's office, court, and other legal organs of the Lithuanian SSR and lays down in legislation the procedure for their organization and activity;
7) undertakes the legislative settlement of relations of ownership, the organization of the management of the economy and of sociocultural building, of the budget and financial system, the remuneration of labor, price formation and taxation, environmental conservation and the use of natural resources, and the procedure for implementing citizens' constitutional rights, freedoms, and obligations, and other social relations in the republic;
8) interprets the laws of the Lithuanian SSR;
9) submits for approval by the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies the drafts of long-term state plans and the most important programs for the republic's economic and social development; approves state plans for the economic and social development of the Lithuanian SSR and the Lithuanian SSR state budget; monitors the progress in fulfilling the plan and budget; approves reports on their fulfillment; where necessary makes alterations to the plan and budget;
10) determines the necessary measures in the field of safeguarding state security and public order; where necessary examines questions of national and interethnic relations;
11) lays down the procedure for resolving questions of the administrative-territorial division of the Lithuanian SSR; resolves the most important questions of the administrative-territorial structure;
12) resolves questions of rendering methodological aid to the local soviets of people's deputies;
13) discusses and resolves questions of the republic's foreign relations and other foreign policy questions;
14) ratifies and denounces international treaties of the Lithuanian SSR;
15) approves state awards and establishes honorary titles of the Lithuanian SSR;
16) publishes republican acts on amnesties;
17) has the right to repeal decrees and resolutions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, rulings of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet chairman, resolutions and rulings of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, and decisions of the rayon and city (cities of republican subordination) soviets of people's deputies;
18) resolves other questions assigned to the competence of the Lithuanian SSR except for those assigned to the exclusive competence of the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies.

The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet passes laws of the Lithuanian SSR and resolutions.

Laws of the Lithuanian SSR can also be passed by referendum.

The laws and resolutions adopted by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet cannot contradict the laws and other acts adopted by the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies.

Article 107. The right of legislative initiative at the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies and in the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet belongs to the people's deputies of the Lithuanian SSR, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, the permanent commissions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Lithuanian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee, the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, the Lithuanian SSR People's Control Committee, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Court, the Lithuanian SSR prosecutor, and the Lithuanian SSR chief state arbitrator.

Public organizations in the shape of their republican organs and the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences also have the right of legislative initiative.

Article 108. Draft laws and other issues submitted for the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet's examination are discussed in preliminary form at its sessions, after which they are passed on to one or several of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet commissions for their examination.

The discussion of these drafts and other issues at sessions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet is continued after hearing the conclusions and recommendations of the appropriate commissions on the drafts.

Draft laws and other most important issues of state life can, by decision of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, be submitted for popular discussion.

A Lithuanian SSR law is deemed to have been adopted if a majority of deputies of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet have voted in favor of it.

Article 109. The laws of the Lithuanian SSR, resolutions of the Congress of People's Deputies and Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR and other acts are published after signing by their chairmen and the secretary of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 110. The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is an organ subordinate to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and ensures the organization of the work of the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies and the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and exercises other powers within the limits provided by the Constitution and laws of the Lithuanian SSR.

The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium includes ex officio: the chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, the deputy chairmen and secretary of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, the chairman of the Lithuanian SSR People's Control Committee, and the chairmen of the permanent commissions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is headed by the chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 111. The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

1) convenes sessions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet;
2) organizes the preparation of sittings of the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies and sessions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet;
3) coordinates the activity of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet permanent commissions;
4) where necessary renders assistance to the Lithuanian SSR people's deputies in their exercise of their powers;
5) organizes the preparation and holding of referendums and national discussions of draft laws of the Lithuanian SSR and other most important questions of state life;
6) presents awards of the Lithuanian SSR and bestows honorary titles of the Lithuanian SSR;
7) bestows citizenship of the Lithuanian SSR; resolves questions of the renunciation of citizenship and the granting of asylum;
8) pardons people convicted by the courts of the Lithuanian SSR;
9) appoints and recalls the Lithuanian SSR's diplomatic representatives in foreign states or attached to international organizations;
10) receives the credentials and letters of recall of the diplomatic representatives of foreign states accredited to it;
11) approves top scholarly degrees and scientific titles bestowed on the republic's scientific workers by scientific councils.

The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium publishes decrees and passes resolutions.

Article 112. The chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet is the top official of the Lithuanian Soviet state and represents the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic within the country and in international relations.

The chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet is elected by the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies from the ranks of the Lithuanian SSR people's deputies by secret ballot for a term of 5 years and for not more than two consecutive terms. He can be recalled by the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies by secret ballot.

The chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet is subordinate to the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies and the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 113. The chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet:

1) exercises overall leadership of the preparation of questions to be examined by the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies and the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and signs laws of the Lithuanian SSR and other acts passed by the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, and the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium;
2) submits to the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies and the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet reports on the republic's position and on important questions of the Lithuanian SSR's domestic and foreign policy;
3) submits to the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies nominations for election to the posts of deputy chairmen and secretary of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and proposals on the personnel of the Lithuanian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee;
4) submits to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet nominations for appointment or election to the posts of chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR People's Control Committee, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Court, and Lithuanian SSR chief state arbitrator, and submits these officials and the prosecutor of the Lithuanian SSR to the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies for approval;

5) holds talks and signs international treaties of the Lithuanian SSR.

The chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet issues rulings.

The deputy chairmen of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet perform some of the chairman's functions upon his authorization and take the chairman's place if he is absent or unable to perform his duties.

Article 114. The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet elects from the ranks of the members of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and other people's deputies of the Lithuanian SSR permanent committees to perform law drafting work, to carry out the preliminary examination and preparation of issues assigned to the competence of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, and to assist the implementation of the laws of the Lithuanian SSR and other decisions adopted by the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies and the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and the monitoring of the activity of state organs and organizations.

The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet creates, when it deems it necessary, investigation, auditing, and other commissions on any question.

Article 115. The laws and other resolutions of the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies and Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet are adopted as a rule after preliminary discussion of the drafts by the relevant permanent commissions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The election and appointment of officials to the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, the Lithuanian People's Control Committee, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Court, and the collegiums of the Lithuanian SSR Prosecutor's Office and the Lithuanian SSR State Arbitration are carried out when there is a conclusion from the relevant permanent commissions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

All state and public organs, organizations, and officials must fulfill the demands of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet commissions and submit to them the necessary materials and documents.

The recommendations of the commissions are subject to compulsory examination by state and public organs, institutions, and organizations. The results of the examination and the measures taken must be reported to the commissions within the deadline they have set.

Article 116. At sittings of the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies and sessions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Lithuanian SSR people's deputy has the right to put a request to the chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, and the leaders of other organs formed or elected by the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies and the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet. The organ or official to whom the request is made must give a verbal or written reply at the particular congress sitting or Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet session within not more than 3 days.

Lithuanian SSR people's deputies shall be released from the performance of their official or production duties for the period necessary for their activity as deputies at the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, its commissions, and among the population. Lithuanian SSR people's deputies elected to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet may be released from their official or production duties for the entire term of their duties at the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

A Lithuanian SSR people's deputy may not be prosecuted, arrested, or subjected to administrative penalties imposed by judicial procedure without the consent of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet or, in the period between sessions, the consent of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Article 117. The procedure for the activity of the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, and its organs is defined by a regulation of the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies and the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and by other laws of the Lithuanian SSR based on the Lithuanian SSR Constitution.

Article 118. The Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies and the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet shall monitor the activity of all state organs under their jurisdiction.

The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet shall direct the activity of the Lithuanian SSR People's Control Committee, which heads the system of people's control organs.

The organization and procedure of people's control organs are defined by the Law on People's Control in the USSR.

Article 119. The Lithuanian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee is elected by the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies for a term of 10 years from among specialists in the sphere of policy and law, to comprise a chairman, a deputy chairman, and seven committee members.

People elected to the Lithuanian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee cannot at the same time belong to organs whose acts are under the committee's supervision.

People elected to the Lithuanian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee shall be independent in the discharge of their duties and bound only by the Lithuanian SSR Constitution.

Article 120. The Lithuanian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee shall:

1) on its own initiative or on the instructions of the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies submit to the congress conclusions on the conformity of draft laws of the Lithuanian SSR subject to examination by the congress with the Lithuanian SSR Constitution;

2) on its own initiative, on the instructions of the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies, or on the proposal of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Constitutional Oversight Committee shall present its conclusions on the conformity of Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet acts and draft acts with the Lithuanian SSR Constitution and Lithuanian SSR laws adopted by the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies;

3) monitor the conformity of resolutions and orders of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers with the Lithuanian SSR Constitution and Lithuanian SSR laws;

4) on its own initiative, on the instruction of the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies, or at the proposal of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, standing commissions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, and the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, the Lithuanian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee shall give conclusions on the conformity of acts of other state organs and social organizations with the Lithuanian SSR Constitution and Lithuanian SSR laws.

Article 121. On the discovery of a conflict between an act or individual provisions of it and the Lithuanian SSR Constitution or laws of the Lithuanian SSR, the Lithuanian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee shall send its conclusion to the agency which issued the act, to eliminate the violation which has occurred. The committee's adoption of this conclusion suspends the act or individual provisions which contradict the Lithuanian SSR Constitution or the Lithuanian SSR law.

The Lithuanian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee is empowered to submit a recommendation to the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, or the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers to rescind the acts of organs or officials subordinate to them which contradict the Lithuanian SSR Constitution or the Lithuanian SSR law.

The organization and procedure of the Lithuanian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee is defined by the Law on the Constitutional Oversight Committee of the Lithuanian SSR.

Chapter 12. Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers

Article 122. The Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers—the government of the republic—is the supreme executive and operative organ of state power of the Lithuanian SSR.

Article 123. The Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers shall be formed by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, to consist of the chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, the first deputy chairmen and deputy chairmen and ministers of the Lithuanian SSR, and chairmen of Lithuanian SSR state committees.

On the recommendation of the chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet may include leaders of other organs and organizations of the Lithuanian SSR in the government of the Lithuanian SSR.

The Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers shall tender its resignation to a newly elected Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR at its first session.

Article 124. The Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers shall be responsible and accountable to the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies and the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The newly formed Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers shall submit a program of activity for its tenure to the scrutiny of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The Lithuanian SSR shall report back at least once a year on its work to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

In the event of a vote of no confidence by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet in the Council of Ministers or an individual member of the Lithuanian SSR government expressed by a two-thirds majority of its deputies by secret ballot, the entire Council of Ministers or the member of the government in question is required to tender a resignation.

Article 125. The Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers is empowered to resolve all questions of state administration within the jurisdiction of the Lithuanian SSR insofar as, under the Lithuanian SSR Constitution, they do not come within the competence of the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet or its Presidium, or the chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

It is within the powers of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers to:

1) ensure in the republic the leadership of the national economy and social and cultural development; draft and implement measures to promote the well-being and cultural development of the people, develop science and technology, ensure the rational use and conservation of

natural resources, help to implement measures to consolidate the monetary and credit system, organize state insurance and the system of accounting and statistics, and take part in pursuing a policy of prices, wages, and social security; organize the management of industrial, construction, and agricultural enterprises and associations, transport and communications enterprises, as well as other organizations and institutions;

2) draft and submit to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet current and long-term state plans for the economic and social development of the Lithuanian SSR, the most important republican programs for economic and social development, and the Lithuanian SSR state budget; take steps to implement state plans and the state budget and to ensure the comprehensive development of rayons and cities; coordinate and control the activity of associations, enterprises, institutions, and organizations on questions within the competence of the Lithuanian SSR; submit to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet reports on the fulfillment of plans and the execution of the budget;

3) lead the activity of the ispolkoms of the rayon and city (cities of republican subordination) soviets of people's deputies;

4) implement measures to protect the interests and safeguard the security of the state, to protect socialist property and public order, and to safeguard and protect citizens' rights and freedoms;

5) within the limits stipulated by the Lithuanian SSR Constitution and the USSR Constitution, take measures to ensure the country's defense capability;

6) lead the Lithuanian SSR's relations with foreign states and international organizations;

7) form and, where necessary, disband committees, main administrations, and other departments under the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers for matters of economic, scientific, and sociocultural building.

Article 126. To implement the leadership of the national economy and to resolve other questions of state management, there operates, as a permanent organ of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers Presidium, which includes: the chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, the first deputy and deputy chairmen, and other members of the government in accordance with the Law on the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers.

Article 127. The Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, on the basis of the legislative acts of the Lithuanian SSR, USSR laws, and resolutions of the USSR Council of Ministers which do not violate the sovereign rights of the Lithuanian SSR, passes resolutions, issues rulings, and organizes and verifies their execution.

The Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers resolutions and rulings are binding throughout the territory of the Lithuanian SSR.

Article 128. The Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers has the right to repeal acts of the Lithuanian SSR ministries and state committees and other organs under its jurisdiction and decisions and rulings of the ispolkoms of rayon and city (cities of republican subordination) soviets of people's deputies.

Article 129. The Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers unites and directs the work of ministries and state committees of the Lithuanian SSR and other organs under its jurisdiction.

Ministries and state committees of the Lithuanian SSR lead the Lithuanian SSR management sectors entrusted to them or implement intersectorial management.

The republic's ministries and state committees bear responsibility for the state and development of the spheres of management entrusted to them; within the limits of their competence they publish acts and organize and verify their execution.

Article 130. The competence of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers and its presidium, the procedure for their activity, the relations of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers with other state organs, and the list of ministries and state committees of the Lithuanian SSR are determined on the basis of this constitution by the Law on the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers.

VI. Local Organs of State Power and Management of the Lithuanian SSR

Chapter 13. Local Soviets of People's Deputies

Article 131. The relevant soviets of people's deputies are the organs of state power in the rayons, cities, rayons in cities, settlements, and villages.

Article 132. The local soviets of people's deputies resolve all questions of local importance, proceeding from state interests and the interests of the citizens living on the territory of the soviet and from the principles of self-management, and they implement the decisions of higher-ranking state organs, control the activity of lower-ranking soviets of people's deputies, take part in the discussion of questions of republican and all-union importance, and make proposals on them.

The local soviets of people's deputies, ensuring comprehensive economic and social development on their territory, lead state, economic, and sociocultural building; approve plans for economic and social development, the local budget, and reports on their execution; exercise leadership of the state organs, enterprises, institutions, and organizations under their jurisdiction; within the limits of their competence, coordinate and control the activity of the enterprises, institutions and organizations situated on their territory and subordinate to higher-ranking bodies; ensure the observance of the constitution

and laws and the safeguarding of state and public order and citizens' rights; and promote the consolidation of the country's defense capability.

Article 133. The local soviets of people's deputies make decisions within the limits of the powers granted them by legislation. The decisions of the local soviets are binding for execution by all enterprises, institutions, and organizations situated on a soviet's territory and by officials and citizens.

Article 134. Sessions of local soviets of people's deputies of the Lithuanian SSR are convened at least four times a year.

Local soviets of people's deputies have the right to examine and resolve at their sessions any questions assigned to their competence.

Article 135. The local soviets of people's deputies elect from the ranks of deputies commissions for the preliminary examination and preparation of questions within the competence of local soviets and to assist the implementation of soviets' decisions and to monitor the activity of state organs, enterprises, institutions, and organizations.

Recommendations of the commissions of local soviets are subject to compulsory examination by the relevant state and public organs, enterprises, institutions, and organizations. The results of the examination or the steps taken must be reported to the commissions within the stipulated deadline.

Article 136. The higher-ranking local soviets of people's deputies have the right to repeal acts of lower-ranking soviets and the organs they form if these acts do not comply with the law.

Article 137. Local soviets of people's deputies implement their activity in close connection with public organizations, public movements, and labor collectives, submit the most important issues for citizens' discussion, enlist them in the work of the commissions, ispolkoms, and other organs subordinate to the soviets, direct the work of the local voluntary societies, and develop the population's spontaneous public activity.

Article 138. The work of the rayon, city, and city rayon soviets of people's deputies is organized by their presidiums headed by chairmen of the soviets while in city (cities of rayon subordination), settlement, and rural soviets it is organized by the chairmen of these soviets.

Chapter 14. Local Soviet of People's Deputies' Ispolkoms

Article 139. The executive and operative organs of the local soviets of people's deputies are the ispolkoms which are elected by them.

At least once a year the ispolkoms report to the soviets which elected them and also at meetings of labor collectives and at citizens' places of residence.

The ispolkoms of the local soviets of people's deputies are directly subordinate to the soviet which elected them and to the higher-ranking executive and operative organ.

Article 140. The ispolkoms of the local soviets of people's deputies lead state, economic, and sociocultural building on the territory of the relevant soviet on the basis of the decisions of the soviets which elected them and higher-ranking organs of state power and management.

The ispolkoms ensure the fulfillment of the decisions of soviets and higher-ranking state organs; they lead the management organs under their jurisdiction.

Article 141. The ispolkoms of the local soviets of people's deputies make decisions and issue rulings within the limits of their competence.

Article 142. The ispolkoms of higher-ranking soviets of people's deputies have the right to repeal decisions and rulings of the ispolkoms of lower-ranking soviets of people's deputies.

Article 143. Upon the expiry of the powers of local soviets of people's deputies, the ispolkoms retain their powers right up to the election of a new convocation of ispolkoms by the soviets of people's deputies.

Article 144. The ispolkom departments and administrations are formed by the rayon, city (cities of republican subordination), and city rayon soviets of people's deputies and are subordinated in their activity both to the soviets and their ispolkoms and to the relevant higher-ranking organs of state management.

VII. State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the Lithuanian SSR and Lithuanian SSR State Budget

Chapter 15. State Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the Lithuanian SSR

Article 145. The Lithuanian SSR elaborates independently the plans and programs for its economic and social development.

The long-term and current state plans for the Lithuanian SSR's economic and social development must provide for the purposeful improvement of the structure of the national economy and the balanced economic and social development of the entire republic.

Article 146. The state plan for the economic and social development of the Lithuanian SSR stipulates the tasks in the field of the economy and sociocultural building, contains comprehensive programs for the development of the Lithuanian SSR's national economy, and includes

plans for the development of the infrastructure, for scientific and technical progress, for the welfare of the population, for production and consumption, and for nature conservation.

Article 147. The state plan for the economic and social development of the Lithuanian SSR is elaborated by the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers. The plan is based on scientific forecasts, programs, plans for the development of the cities and rayons and plans of the republic's central organs of management, plans for the development of economically independent associations, enterprises, and organizations situated on the republic's territory, and the state of the natural environment.

Article 148. The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, on the basis of the report of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers and the conclusions of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet permanent commissions, discusses and approves current state plans for the economic and social development of the Lithuanian SSR.

The drafts of the state plans for the economic and social development of the Lithuanian SSR and of the most important republican programs for economic and social development are submitted by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet for approval by the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies.

Article 149. The Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers organizes the fulfillment of the state plan for the economic and social development of the Lithuanian SSR.

Article 150. Reports on the fulfillment of state plans for the economic and social development of the Lithuanian SSR are examined and approved by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet. The overall indicators for the fulfillment of plans are published for general information.

Chapter 16. Lithuanian SSR State Budget

Article 151. The Lithuanian SSR forms its own state budget independently.

The Lithuanian SSR State Budget unites the republican budget of the Lithuanian SSR and the local budgets of rayons and cities of republican subordination.

The procedure for the demarcation of the revenue and expenditure of the state budget of the Lithuanian SSR between the republican budget of the Lithuanian SSR and the local budgets of rayons and cities of republican subordination is determined by the law on the budget rights of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic and the local soviets of people's deputies of the Lithuanian SSR and other legislative acts of the Lithuanian SSR.

Article 152. The Lithuanian SSR State Budget is elaborated by the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers on the basis of the current state plan for the republic's economic and social development and local budgets approved by local soviets of people's deputies and with consideration for financial resources.

Article 153. The draft Lithuanian SSR State Budget is examined and approved by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet on the basis of the report of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers and the conclusions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet permanent commissions.

Article 154. The report on the execution of the Lithuanian SSR State Budget is approved by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet. The overall indicators for the execution of the budget are published for general information.

VIII. Justice, Arbitration, and Prosecutor's Supervision

Chapter 17. The Court and Arbitration

Article 155. Justice in the Lithuanian SSR is administered only by the courts. Other organs endowed with special judicial powers may not be formed in the Lithuanian SSR.

The courts of the Lithuanian SSR are the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Court and rayon (city) people's courts.

The organization and procedure of the courts of the Lithuanian SSR are defined by law.

Article 156. People's judges of rayon (city) people's courts are elected by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet for a term of 10 years.

People's assessors of rayon (city) people's courts are elected for a term of 5 years by citizens at their place of residence or work by a show of hands.

Article 157. The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Court is the supreme judicial organ of the Lithuanian SSR and supervises the judicial activity of Lithuanian SSR courts within the limits established by law.

The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Court is elected for a term of 10 years by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and consists of a chairman, his deputies, and members. People's assessors of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Court shall be elected for a term of 5 years by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Judges and people's assessors are responsible and accountable to the soviets of people's deputies or voters who elected them and may be recalled by them in the manner prescribed by law.

Article 158. The examination of civil and criminal cases in all courts is conducted by a collegium; in courts of first instance cases are heard with the participation of people's assessors. In the administration of justice, people's assessors enjoy all the rights of judges.

Article 159. Judges and people's assessors are independent and subject only to the law.

Judges and people's assessors are provided with the conditions for the unhindered and effective exercise of their rights and discharge of their duties. Any interference in the activity of judges and people's assessors in the administration of justice is not permitted and entails responsibility under the law.

The inviolability of judges and people's assessors and other guarantees of their independence are established by the Law on the Status of Judges in the USSR and other legislative acts of the USSR and the Lithuanian SSR.

Article 160. Justice in the Lithuanian SSR is administered on the principles of citizens' equality before the law and the court.

Article 161. The examination of cases in all courts is open. Cases may be heard by a court in closed session only in instances laid down by the law and with the observance of all the rules of judicial procedure.

Article 162. A person called to account is guaranteed the right of defense.

Article 163. Judicial proceedings in the Lithuanian SSR are conducted in the Lithuanian language. Participants in a case who do not know Lithuanian are ensured the right to be fully acquainted with the materials of the case, participation in the judicial proceedings via an interpreter, and the right to address the court in their native language.

Article 164. On the basis of the presumption of innocence, no one may be deemed guilty of a crime or subjected to punishment as a criminal except by the sentence of a court and in accordance with the law.

Sentences are passed on behalf of the Lithuanian SSR.

Article 165. Collegiums of advocates provide legal aid to citizens and organizations.

In cases stipulated by the law, legal aid to citizens shall be free.

The organization and procedure of the bar are defined by the law.

Article 166. Representatives of social organizations, social movements, and labor collectives may take part in civil and criminal proceedings.

Article 167. Economic disputes between enterprises, institutions, and organizations are settled by state arbitration organs within the limits of their competence.

Chapter 18. The Prosecutor's Office

Article 168. Supreme power of supervision over the precise and uniform execution of the laws by all ministries, state committees and departments, enterprises, institutions, and organizations, local soviet executive and administrative organs, kolkhozes, cooperative and other social organizations, social movements, and officials as well as citizens on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR is exercised by the prosecutor of the Lithuanian SSR and other prosecutors under his jurisdiction.

Article 169. The prosecutor of the Lithuanian SSR is responsible and accountable to the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies and the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 170. Deputy prosecutors of the Lithuanian SSR are appointed by the republic's prosecutor and are confirmed by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Rayon, city, and other prosecutors are appointed by the Lithuanian SSR prosecutor.

Article 171. The term of office of the prosecutor of the Lithuanian SSR and all lower-ranking prosecutors is 5 years.

Article 172. Prosecutor's office organs exercise their powers in the manner prescribed by law independently of all local organs and subject only to the prosecutor of the Lithuanian SSR.

IX. Emblem, Flag, Anthem, and Capital of the Lithuanian SSR

Article 173. The state emblem of the Lithuanian SSR is the emblem of Vytis in white on a red background.

Article 174. The state flag of the Lithuanian SSR is the national flag, which is a panel consisting of three equal horizontal stripes: the upper stripe is yellow, the middle stripe is green, and the lower stripe is red.

Article 175. The Lithuanian SSR national anthem is the "National Song" by V. Kudirka.

Article 176. The capital of the Lithuanian SSR is the city of Vilnius—the ancient and historical capital of Lithuania.

X. The Legal Force of the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR and the Procedure for Amending It

Article 177. All laws and other acts of the state organs of the Lithuanian SSR are issued on the basis of and in accordance with the present constitution.

Article 178. The Lithuanian SSR Constitution may be amended by decision of the Lithuanian SSR Congress of People's Deputies adopted by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the total number of people's deputies of the Lithuanian SSR or by a referendum.
[End text of Constitution]

Restructuring, which began on the party's initiative and whose policy and aims were set out in the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, has become the practical cause of citizens in our republic, too. Inspired by the ideas of renewal, the republic's inhabitants are striving, with a sense of lofty responsibility for their land's present and future, to achieve substantial changes in all the most important areas of our life. The Lithuanian people's awakened self-awareness and their growing belief that, in the new conditions of democracy and the rule-of-law state, Lenin's principle of the Soviet federation as a voluntary union of sovereign republics will be restored are having a tangible impact on this process. In this connection, the idea was also put forward to create a new Lithuanian SSR Constitution, without which the radical reform of the political system is impossible.

Considering the ideas of the new political and legal thinking of the republic's population, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium formed a working group on 22 June 1988 to improve the Constitution and legislation of the republic. That group was given the first version of the republic's draft Constitution produced on the initiative of the Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences. In light of this document and public suggestions, the working group prepared and submitted a draft republic Constitution which it submitted to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on 11 November 1988.

The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, at its 10th session on 17-18 November 1988, assessed the draft republic Constitution prepared by the working group and adopted a resolution "On the Draft Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR." It was recognized that this version of the draft Constitution could provide a basis for further work on the Constitution. A 59-deputy commission headed by A. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, was set up to prepare the draft Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the republic.

Taking into account the fact that the elaboration of such an important legal act is exceptionally responsible work, the commission worked in groups and collectively, and discussed the wording of each article on numerous occasions. It was assisted by lawyers and specialists in various fields of science and practice in the republic. The draft republic Constitution prepared by the deputies' commission was sent to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. In publishing this document, the Supreme Soviet Presidium also establishes, by a resolution, how further work to improve the draft will be organized.

The present draft provides a broader interpretation of the statutes regulating the statehood and sovereignty of the republic and also stipulates their constitutional safeguards.

The chapters of the draft which discuss the economic system, social development and culture, and the competence of the supreme organs of state power and management in the Lithuanian SSR are based on the concept of the republic's economic independence. It is proposed that the land, its mineral resources, waters, continental shelf, forests, and natural resources be established as the exclusive state property of the Lithuanian SSR.

In light of the current process of optimization of legal relations between the center and the republics, some articles of the draft have been worded in the spirit of Lenin's principles of the Soviet federation. Citizenship in the Lithuanian SSR, its substance, and the procedure of acquiring or forfeiting it are to be effectively enshrined in the Law on Citizenship.

So as to strengthen safeguards of the republic's sovereignty, it is stipulated in the draft that relations between the Lithuanian SSR and the USSR and other sovereign Soviet republics are to be based on the Treaty on the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It is proposed to establish that USSR laws and other acts of the supreme organs of state power and management of the USSR operate on the territory of the Lithuanian SSR as long as they do not contradict the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR or violate its sovereign rights, and to grant to the council of ministers the right to suspend the operation on the republic's territory of normative acts of USSR ministries and departments if they contradict the republic's interests and rights.

In light of historical tradition and desire of the republic's population to revive the 16th Lithuanian Klaipeda rifle division with its glorious combat path, it is proposed that national military formations of the Lithuanian SSR be created in the manner prescribed by law.

In accordance with the reform of the political system and the amendments and supplements to the USSR Constitution adopted at the USSR Supreme Soviet session on 1 December 1988, a new system of and procedure for the elections of representative organs of state power in the republic are established.

Some provisions of the published draft are at variance with articles of the present USSR Constitution.

At the same time, the USSR Constitution will also be improved during the restructuring process. New provisions are to be submitted in development of interethnic relations, and this also affects the demarcation of the competence of the union and the republics. In addition, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, making use of the right to initiate legislation as stipulated by Article 114 of the USSR Constitution, intends to submit

to the USSR Supreme Soviet a proposal on amendments to the relevant articles of the USSR Constitution. All this should be borne in mind when discussing the present draft Constitution.

The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium expresses confidence that the republic's public will take active part in discussing the draft Constitution and will express its comments and suggestions on it.

40,000 Refugees Return to Azerbaijan From Armenia

LD1503124789 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] (Viktor Ilukhin), a USSR Procurator's Office spokesman has reported that more than 40,000 refugees have returned to Azerbaijan from Armenia. (Ilukhin) is in charge of a special team investigating crimes in the wake of the clashes between the Armenians and Azerbaijanis. In his opinion, the refugees' return to their homes confirms that the situation is becoming stable. However, he emphasized that it was premature to speak of total normalization in the region.

Congress of Muslims in Soviet Central Asia

LD1403134589 Moscow TASS in English 1249 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Tashkent March 14 TASS—Representatives of all Mosques and Kaziats (local Islamic boards) of the Soviet Central Asian Republics and Kazakhstan gathered for the 4th Congress of Moslems of the region, which opened here on Tuesday. [14 March]

Pulat Abdurakhmanov, deputy chairman of the Uzbek Council of Ministers, handed over the Holy Koran of Caliph Osman (7th century) to believers at the opening ceremony. This relic was previously kept at Tashkent's history museum.

The congress unanimously elected a new chairman of the Religious Board of Moslems of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. 36-year-old Mukhammadsadyk Mamayusupov, rector of the Higher Islamic Institute in Tashkent, was elected the new mufti. He delivered the key report: Domestic Religious and Foreign Peace-Making Activities of the Religious Board.

"It is very symbolic that the Holy Koran of Caliph Osman has been returned to us now that radical changes in relations between the church and the state are taking place," he noted. The mufti thanked the Uzbek Government for its decision to transfer several cultural structures to Moslems in the near future. They include quite a number of world-famous architectural monuments: The Abu Isa At- Termezi Mausoleum in the south of the Republic, the Bakhauddin Mausoleum and Mosque in the vicinity of Bukhara, the Kalyan Mosque in Bukhara, the Dzhami Mosque in Kokand and others.

Mukhammadsadyk Mamayusupov pointed to the need for raising the level of training of theologians and clergymen. He said that the Uzbek Government also met believers half-way in this case, permitting construction of new academic buildings and dormitories for the Bukhara Madrasah Mir Arab and the Tashkent Islamic Institute. This will help increase enrollment of students.

"Moslems in the region are active in peace-making activities and maintain contacts with moslems from 80 countries," said the mufti. "We followers of Islam stand out against the threat of nuclear war and for disarmament. We are resolute opponents of ethnic strife and hatred among nations."

Representatives of all religious boards of Moslems, operating in the Soviet Union, are attending the congress as guests.

Congress Concludes 15 Mar

LD1503142289 Moscow TASS in English 1358 GMT 15 Mar 89

[Text] Tashkent March 15 TASS—Moslems from the Soviet republics in Central Asia and Kazakhstan ended their fourth congress in the capital of Uzbekistan on Wednesday [15 March]. The forum, which was attended by representatives of all Mosques and Kaziates (Moslem administration) of the region, lasted two days. It elected the new chairman of the Moslem Religious Board for Central Asia and Kazakhstan, Mukhammadsadyk Mamayusupov. Elections of the board and its Presidium were also held. Prominent Moslem theologians and figures of the region were elected.

On the closing day of the congress the believers were addressed by Konstantin Kharchev, chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers. He stressed that the new Soviet legislation on religious rites, which is now being drafted, will lay groundwork for more equal relations between the state and the church.

The participants in the Congress endorsed an appeal to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and a letter to the government of Uzbekistan. These documents express gratitude to the Soviet leadership for its attention to the needs of Moslem believers, and new approaches in tackling religious issues.

An appeal to all Moslems of Soviet Central Asia and Kazakhstan was also endorsed at the congress.

Emigre Group's 'Anti-Soviet Activities' Detailed

LD1403020389

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1850 GMT on 10 March broadcasts a program entitled "Without Make-Up". The program profiles the anti-Soviet activities of the NTS, People's Labor Organization.

The program begins with video shots of street scenes in the Soviet Union; the voice-over says: "Restructuring, glasnost, and the democratization of practically all aspects of socio-political life are today's realities. Familiar facades are crumbling, and historical blank spots are being laid bare and eliminated. The problem of the way in which each person has to choose his stance in life has also arisen in a new way. Today we realize that society needs thinking people, people who even sometimes have doubts about certain things, but who are devoted to restructuring. However, there are also those who consciously doom themselves to confrontation.

"The name of one of them—Valeriy Senderov—is well-known in emigre circles. He lives in Moscow. Convicted in the past of anti-state activity, he was subsequently pardoned. Taking advantage of the democratic changes taking places in our society and of glasnost, he openly declared that he is a member of NTS. We decided to meet Senderov to clarify the essence of his ideas and find out more about the organization of which he is a member." The video shows a magazine called EKSPRESS KHRONIKA changing hands in the street and Senderov in the midst of a group of people. Video then shows an apartment block.

Senderov, in an interview given in his apartment, states: "The full name of our organization is the People's Labor Union of Russian Solidarists [narodno-trudovoy soyuz rossiyskikh solidaristov]. I would like to draw attention to the last word there. As was the case up until the February revolution and the October coup, and as is the case now, we all belong to one and the same Christian culture, and we are all children of one country. Thus we believe that our development should be based on the Christian principle of solidarity. However deep the contradictions that sometimes occur, we are supporters of the peaceful path of solidarity, supporters of reform. Aside from the Communist Party, of course, the NTS is the only opposition organization in our country that has existed for decades. But I would not, of course, join the opposition just because it is the opposition. It's just that because I was dissatisfied with a lot of things, I started to study the activities of the opposition, and I found the NTS programme perfectly acceptable to me; it corresponded to my existing inner views. So I agreed with it, and I got in touch with the organization and established links with it, and started to operate as a member of it."

Video shows Soviet street scenes and architectural shots; the voice-over says: "Well, one can—as Senderov wanted—take note of the term solidarists in the full name of the NTS, but one cannot fail to notice that the October socialist revolution, in Senderov's view, was simply a coup. NTS figures do not agree with the choice in favor of socialism made by our people. This is demonstrated by the entire history of this organization, too. Senderov's assertions that the NTS is an opposition party in our country can hardly be seen as anything other than self-advertisement."

An historical sketch of the NTS notes the organization's formation in Belgrade in 1930 by members of the National Union of Russian Youth, who "decided they were capable of destroying Soviet power". It was headed by former White Army officer (Vaydavakov) and "someone called (Georgiyevskiy)." The NTS established "close" contacts with "another counterrevolutionary organization," the Russian All-Arms Union set up by Vrangel after his defeat in Russia. NTS members also cooperated with the Russian Fascist Union founded by Ataman Semenov, using money from Japanese military intelligence. In the late 1930's, (Mikhail Georgiyevskiy) drew up a plan to seize the Kremlin, and a "specially trained group of NTS men" was sent into Russia to carry out the plan. "However, all the saboteurs were arrested at that time by Soviet chekisty [officials of Cheka security service]" Other subsequent failures "did not stop the NTS." Video shows copies of POSEV, archive footage of leaflets, street scenes, old photographs, and documents. "Recalling this, NTS figures declare that they were allegedly fighting Stalin's dictatorship, guided by the principles of Christian solidarity. This is an overt attempt to capitalize on the feelings of Soviet people, an attempt to win the sympathy of the people, who condemn the arbitrary rule and lawlessness of the Stalinist period and the mass repressions of those years. The facts demonstrate that even in the pre-war period, NTS members struggled actively against Soviet power. However, in their comments on this period, they attempt to present everything in a different, distorted light."

Senderov then says: "Our organization has always been a supporter...or, to be more exact, in the period of the sharp confrontation between the Stalinist and Hitlerite dictatorships, we were supporters of a third way, even before the start of the war. In 1938 the organization was banned by Hitler. In the war years, many NTS members—hundreds of them—ended up in Hitlerite camps, and many were shot."

The voice-over states: "Yes, everything has been turned inside out here—as the saying goes. We decided to meet a qualified person, Anatoliy Vasilyevich Bochkov-Dobryy. He lives in Prague. Anatoliy Vasilyevich does not know about the NTS by hearsay. At one time he worked in the union's press organ, the POSEV magazine. We talked about the NTS, its history, and goals."

Video shows Prague street scenes and interview with Bochkov-Dobryy, who says: "The NTS is an anti-Soviet organization, an organization which in terms of size is not very large—I would even call it small; I refer not just to today, but also the past—and which has always sought some kind of force to help it achieve its goals. One of the possibilities for this—I refer to the pre-war situation—was the chance of an outbreak of war against the Soviet Union, the defeat of the Soviet system in that war, and subsequently the possibility of infiltration into the territory of the Soviet Union by people from NTS; and, of course, the NTS people could not fail to use this opportunity."

In a further historical sketch archive footage is shown and it is said that the NTS took part in a 1939 fascist White emigre congress. "They quickly forgot their principles of Christian solidarity when they opted to cooperate with the Hitlerites. At the time, all the work was done under the aegis of the Abwehr, the German military intelligence service headed by Canaris. And when on 22 June, 1941, fascist Germany attacked the Soviet Union, NTS figures decided that their moment of glory had come." NTS members got jobs in German institutions and firms on occupied Soviet territory and were burgomasters, police chiefs, and newspaper editors. NTS members trained saboteurs at Abwehr training centers. At one such center near Tallinn, Soviet prisoners of war who refused to cooperate with the Abwehr were shot. NTS members took part in "terrorist acts against the population" and in the "struggle against the partisans." "Many of the present-day leaders of the NTS made a career for themselves then." Video shows Nazi emblems, Hitler inspecting troops, documents, and atrocity victims.

Biographies of NTS members are then read out: Ivan Ivanovich Agruzov, a member of the German gendarmerie during the occupation of Pskov, was an instructor in 1953 at the U.S. intelligence training center at Bad Wiessee. "At present, he is an employee of the closed sector of the NTS and trains foreign agents for despatch to our country under the guise of tourists." Ariadna Yevgeniyevna Shirinkina was sent in 1941 by the German security service as an "agent provocateur" to the Smolensk-Minsk area, and completed the "Zeppelin" intelligence training center in Austria in 1944-45. "At the present time, she is a member of the closed sector of the NTS; she is an agent of U.S. intelligence; she can still be seen today in West German ports where Soviet ships call." And Yevgeniy Romanovich Romanov was a "paid agent of the Gestapo" during the German occupation and an editor of a fascist newspaper.

These "biographies" are accompanied by photographs of the named individuals.

Bochkov-Dobryy then says: They do not like to talk about or confirm the fact that they collaborated with the Germans in the struggle against Soviet people, against, let's say, the partisans. This is quite understandable, of course. Today, their tactic or tendency is to say today that their purpose during the war was to create a so-called third force, which would be against both Hitler and Stalin. One of the well-known NTS leaders during the war, (Kazantsev); who was working in Berlin and was involved, for example, in propaganda work among prisoners of war—Soviet Army officers captured by the Germans—wrote a book precisely about this, called Third Force—after the war, of course—in which he gave a theoretical justification for the stance of the NTS in the period 1941-45.

[The voice-over then states:] "The theory of the so-called third force continues to circulate among NTS members to this day. They link it with the traitor General Vlasov, on whom they banked in the final period of the war." Video shows photograph of Vlasov said to be from Gestapo archives. Vlasov did not belong to the NTS, but (General Trushin), "one of his closest assistants", headed a propaganda training center in (Davendorff), "with the help of NTS." Konstantin Sergeyevich Sanin, also known as (Konstantin Kromiyadiy), a graduate of the college, was commandant at a camp where attempts were made to persuade Soviet prisoners of war to collaborate with the Germans. "This trade of (Kromiyadiy's) came in useful after the war when he started to choose staff for Radio Liberty."

After the war, many from NTS found new protectors in the United States. Archive footage shows Churchill and Truman meeting in March, 1946. The cold war was beginning. "On 26 July, 1946, the United States adopted a law creating the CIA." The CIA's emblem is shown as well as a captioned CIA film. The head of the CIA was Allen Dulles, who had "at one time prudently taken charge of all the files of Hitler's intelligence service, including the list of its agents from the NTS. On 28 and 29 February, 1956 there was a conference in London. British intelligence which had thus far been a nursemaid to NTS decided to hand this function over to the Americans. Why? In the draft of the British statement to the NTS leadership it reads, inter alia, that "the British intelligence service has always told the NTS leadership that the objective it pursues in carrying out joint operations with the NTS consists of obtaining secret data on the USSR. The British had, however, been disappointed with the NTS. A 7-year period of cooperation with that organization convinced British intelligence that this was non-productive and the actual results in no way made up for the time and money spent. It was then that the CIA decided to breathe new life into the NTS."

A still shot shows the British statement, printed in Russian; the camera then shows shots of the sea in an unidentified town.

Then an interview begins: "The life of Nikita Vladimirovich Khoruznshiy has not been an easy one. (?What he has to say) is, to put it mildly, far from unequivocal. The testimony of Nikita Vladimirovich is, all the same, of great interest. At one time he worked in what is called the closed sector of the NTS and was initiated into many of the secrets of the organization. He knew about the sources of the NTS financial provisions, its contacts with representatives of Western secret services, and of how CIA emissaries drew the leaders of the organization into cooperation after the war." Seated by the rocks on the beach, Khorunzhiy—identified by caption—says: "They had a good schooling with the Gestapo: Artemov, (Zaytsev), Poremskiy, then Romanov—i.e. Ostrovskiy—are all people who went through Gestapo schooling. They are well aware of how to work in that area. It was a good school. The Americans valued this; U.S. intelligence valued this; these people were needed."

The result of cooperation between the CIA and NTS is recounted by the presenter: "NTS was showered with CIA dollar subsidies. The Posev publishing house and magazine were quickly set on their feet. Conditions were created for waging a subversive psychological war against the Soviet Union." These facts are illustrated by copies of POSEV and an apparently innocent copy of Gogol's "Inspector General," entitled "Revizor," which, when the cover is raised, proves to be entitled "Problems of National Revolution" and attributed to NTS's Poremskiy. The narrator continues: "And more than this, the NTS assumes the duty of selecting cadres for the CIA, just as it did for the fascist Abwehr during the World War II."

Thr report returns to Khorunzhiy at a beach, who says, "I personally headed that operation: recruiting people and establishing them, surnames and first names, patronymic, place of residence, everything, and handing it over to U.S. intelligence. For every Russian we'd receive $500, $600, or $700, more if it was an officer. For every German, $100 or $150. So we used to give them names we'd only talked about, who knew nothing yet. Give us more money, a little bit more money. And the Americans paid out the money, and we lived off it. That's what we were up to. Is that really a political struggle?"

Archive footage from 1957 of former NTS members describing their work follows: "On 6 February, 1957 there was a news conference in Moscow. Ex-NTS members spoke at it. Speaking is (Kravets-Sorokin): "I am one of those young displaced Soviet citizens whom U.S. intelligence pushed into espionage and subversion against the Soviet Union. Today, I must presume it will exclude me from its card files as an agent unable to justify its hopes. I was dropped in the Soviet Union from an American plane on the night of 1 September, 1953. Prior to that, U.S. intelligence workers had for 2 years on West German territory trained me diligently for work as a spy." The voice-over explains that "he was made a spy by U.S. intelligence agent Okolovich, a member of the NTS," while video shows journalists at the news conference. "During the war he was a Gestapo resident and leader of a group of subversive provocateurs in Smolensk, Vitebsk, Orel, and Bobrusk, and used various names." A still photograph of what is presumably a young Okolovich is shown and fades to a wartime landscape. (Kravets-Sorokin) continues: "At the start of 1951, Okolovich sold me to U.S. intelligence, obviously receiving a certain sum for my head. He handed me over to (Rochester), a U.S. intelligence officer. I was accommodated in a villa situated on the outskirts of a town near (?Homberg) where I underwent a special espionage training course."

The report then tells of another NTS activity adopted "at the end of the 1950's," when "the Western special services stopped using the NTS to get armed groups into the USSR." The new method is shown in the following shots of people waiting in stations: "These people are known in CIA jargon as trappers [zagonshchiki]. They are very familiar with the timetables of trains and planes and the arrivals of people from the USSR and other socialist countries. They follow a method of chance acquaintance, calling themselves people from home and homesick for the motherland. Then working over the citizens starts, according to the instructions. The NTS carries out such operations not only in close contact with the CIA but also with other Western secret services in major European cities and ports. The information thus obtained is systematized and sent off to the CIA." The video shows one such scene of a "trapper" meeting a train from Budapest to Vienna. There is a close-up of a document, apparently a description of this work, possibly instructions.

The report returns to Khorunzhiy interview: "There are not even two sides in agreement here. There is one side that dictates and the other that executes. The side that dictates is the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States of America, while Artemov, Poremskiy, Okolovich—who is now dead—are the executors. The NTS, an organization, is a small branch of U.S. intelligence in the West—and nothing more. And this has been proven hundreds of times, hundreds. For example, I even know Americans from the intelligence services who used to come to us at the NTS, including even a major general who used to come to us and gave instructions as to what to do and how to do it."

The focus of the narration moves to the printing concerns of NTS centering on the publications of POSEV and RUSSKAYA MYSL. "Yes, the NTS members have enough patrons in the West. They help organize the publication of samizdat [self-published] literature within the USSR and provide financial support. Valeriy Senderov, champion of rights and freedoms in the Soviet Union, speaks of this openly. "He, too, receives money from the NTS and makes no attempt to hide this." From streets scenes in the West to an office in Moscow, the video shows Senderov, who says: "Yes, that's true. I get money for my work. Of course, no serious work is possible, quite simply, in my view, without a financial base."

Customs officers are working on a report: "On 17 September, 1988, during an inspection, customs workers at Sheremetyevo discovered an item coming from the FRG with the label: Urgent: Business Documents. The protocol drawn up by the Soviet customs officers gives the address of the sender as Frankfurt-on-Main, Georg Bruno." This is seen on screen in Russian with a passport-type photograph, presumably of Bruno. "He is now the chairman of the NTS executive bureau. The recipient of the item is Valeriy Senderov, Moscow. Such a method of sending printed matter into the Soviet Union is illegal. This circumstance is ignored by members of NTS. Making use of the USSR's expanding international links, they have decided to flood our country with literature with provocative contents. In doing so, we are already convinced, they spared no expense. Senderov himself often receives emissaries from the NTS foreign center and is

trying to set up what is called an authors' aktiv in the USSR and get it involved in cooperation with the printed mouthpiece of the NTS, the POSEV magazine." Video shows copies of the magazine and more scenes of customs officers at work.

Senderov is again seen: "First, someone who wants to print something in POSEV often does so through me. Second, we discuss when someone arrives and in general models for forthcoming editions of the magazine, as well as with those (?societies) that come here from the NTS and with which we do have contacts."

The report states that it is no surprise to find Senderov's own articles in NTS publications in the West. The video shows one such article in RUSSKAYA MYSL, entitled "A Crime Against Morality," and attributed to Senderov in Moscow. The video in Paris shows the nameplace of LA PENSEE RUSSE, RUSSKAYA MYSL, which, at the end of the 1960's, seemed likely to follow other emigre publications into oblivion. However, "in 1967 the number of pages increased, the tone changed, and copy increased. What happened? It turned out that the former editor-in-chief, one (Vodov), ceded his position to members of the NTS. Their work, moreover, was headed by Redlich himself." A negative of Redlich transforming into a normal picture appears in the top left-hand corner of the screen over a document profiling him. The words clearly seen in Russian are read aloud by the narrator: "Redlich is Vorobyev, Roman Nikolayevich. Born in 1911, origin: the city of Moscow. During World War II he worked at the intelligence schools in (Zeithenhorst) and Wustrau. He trained agents to be sent behind the Soviet Army lines and to fight the partisan movement. From 1943, Redlich was the resident of the German counterrevolutionary body, Ingwar. He operated on the territory of Poland and Belorussia. Today he is a member of the NTS executive bureau." Wartime scenes of corpses here give way to street scenes in Paris.

"The Americans supported the venture with the RUSSKAYA MYSL and gave their help through the U.S. Information Agency USIA. The operation with RUSSKAYA MYSL was conducted by the operations headquarters of the NTS, a kind of intelligence and counterintelligence within this union. Let's return to Senderov." Video shows shots of Paris, at one point focussing on shop called Petrograd, written in Cyrillic script, shots of Notre Dame.

"[Senderov] The main thing now is acquainting people with our views. What I have just set forth, of course, is very concise and very primitive. But of course when you expound a very detailed and a very big program like this, and many others, and you put it in a few words, it always sounds rather primitive. But we are trying to acquaint people with our program."

The presenter continues: "We will open the NTS program, which is called 'Path to a Future Russia'." The front page of the program, bearing the title given and the phrase "The Political Fundamentals of the People's Labor Union" written below it, is shown. "The October Revolution and the victory of the Bolsheviks in the civil war, the program says, led to a national catastrophe. The ideas being circulated by the NTS, it goes on to say, constitute an alternative to the ideas of the CPSU. The NTS supporters are bursting with arrogance, as they say. They debate the economic, ecological, and even the moral problems of the country. It is true that in their view these problems can only be resolved once the communist dictatorship has been removed." Video shows passage from program, cutting to serene nature shots, and Russian church.

Senderov then says: "Yes, there is no Stalin. But dictatorship, although fortunately in softer forms, has remained. You see, we are not striving for more democratization in the sense that the Soviet press writes about this. Democratization is one single thing, either it exists or it does not exist. Forgive me for repeating the joke, but one-party pluralism is like an herbivorous tiger. We are striving for genuine democratization and believe that in a country with a one-party system, the development of events may lead to it to be a one-party system."

A group of people shown standing together outdoors; one is holding a leaflet entitled EKSPRESS-KHRONIKA, 37/1988. "Senderov is not alone in his arguments. There is the concept of mimicry, whereby animals change their shape and color to survive. Today NTS followers are trying to make a show of their politics in line with the spirit of the times. They have a great deal of experience in preparing for and conducting subversive actions. This is precisely what they get money in the West for. They now pass themselves off as campaigners against Stalin's dictatorship, yet they served Hitler with their heart and soul. They pay lip service to Christian solidarity, but in actuality they are calling for the overthrow of the Soviet Government."

A leaflet is shown which says at the top: "Do not hope, but act." "The NTS followers tried to circulate these leaflets printed in Frankfurt-on-Main among Soviet citizens. What do they call for? People should not yield to the illusions of the positive results of restructuring but should demand the creation of new political parties and organizations. The NTS already sees itself as a legal opposition party in the USSR. Maybe this is why the authors of the leaflet are so sure of themselves. They call their permanent West German address temporary." The camera focusses on end of leaflet which gives the "temporary address of NTS center" in FRG.

The video cuts to shots of Lazienki Palace, Warsaw, and people in a park: "Warsaw. One of Europe's historical and cultural centers. Groups of tourists from many countries of the world travel here every year and enjoy the hospitality and the cordiality of the residents of Warsaw. The NTS followers decided to take advantage

of this and sent their emissary (Petr Gumenyuk), disguised as a tourist. The commissar was caught redhanded by the Polish militia." Video shows man in handcuffs being led away from park area by group of plain clothes militiamen and taken away in car. (Gumenyuk) is then shown seated in room as Polish militiaman opens up a thermos and examines its contents. "What was (Petr Gumenyuk) supposed to pass on to those who contacted him? Judge for yourselves. Here is the thermos with a secret compartment. Hidden in it were Soviet money and instructions prepared by the NTS, which described methods of making gunpowder and explosive devices using domestic appliances. These means can be used to carry out acts of terrorism and sabotage. Gumenyuk was expelled by the Polish authorities back to the FRG. We are convinced ourselves once again of the role that the NTS leaders assign the functionaries of their organization." Video shows contents of thermos: money and other pieces of paper. (Gumenyuk) is seen boarding Lufthansa plane.

The presenter says that according to Senderov, public opinion polls are often carried out by POSEV, so the central television camera crew went into the streets of Moscow to ask people whether they have heard of the People's Labor Union of Russian Solidarists. A group of young men in Army uniforms say they have never heard of the group. A middle-aged man says it's a Western organization of emigres engaged in provocative activities. A World War II veteran has heard of the organization and says they should be finished off.

"Let us return, however, to Senderov's claim, that you have already heard at the beginning of the program.

"[Senderov] Aside from the Communist Party of course, the NTS is the only opposition organization in our country that has existed for decades."

The presenter continues: "This fact, as we see it, patently does not correspond with the truth. But maybe the NTS unites Russian emigres abroad? The leaders of the union say this too. Let us turn to Bochkov-Dobryy again.

"[Bochkov-Dobryy] Many people think that it is an organization of all Russians living abroad, or Russian emigres, one could say. It only makes up part of these emigres. Many emigres living abroad for whatever reason do not engage in politics whatsoever. They go about their personal business, they work and live, and so on. A good part of the emigre community regards the Soviet Union very favorably. They visit their homeland, and their children travel to the Soviet Union. So one should not think that this is some sort of organization that encompasses all emigres from Russia, as a whole. That would not be a very correct point of view."

Report then begins Khorunshiy interview.

"[Unidentified man] I would like to return to certain theoretical purposes of the NTS. As is known, they have a program and a statute. The latest NTS program, of the Russian Solidarists, claims in particular in one of its points that the NTS may become a legal opposition party in the USSR. How do you assess such a prospect?

"[Khorunzhiy] It is simply absurd to even think about this. Ours is not a party. I would even be so bold as to state, judging from personal conversations with both Artemov and Poremskiy, as well as with Romanov, Okolovich, (Pozhdeyev) and—what's his name—I've said Romanov, Redlich, Redlich too; strictly speaking there was no talk of politics either."

The presenter continues: "It is understandable why the NTS leaders do not talk about politics in their narrow circle. Having such a past, having besmirched themselves with betrayal, service to the fascist reich and then the Western special services, you (?can't pass yourself off as) a politician. But one has to live on something, as they say. Hence the attempt to throw dust in the eyes of the uninitiated.

The presenter then says: "This is how Georgiy Vladimov, a former member of the USSR Union of Writers, would have been described by his friends when he left the country. In 1975 he got in contact with NTS followers, and sent material denigrating our country to the West. Vladimov considered himself to be experienced. At the beginning, he was lucky. He even headed the printing organ of the NTS, the journal GRANI, but he was soon removed from there. And then Vladimov decided to call a spade a spade. The NTS, he said, is only a family enterprise of Romanov, Artemov, and Zhdanov. Vladimov also exposed the allegation that the NTS was expanding its influence in the USSR. We shall not look into the ups and downs of the life of Vladimov himself. We are citing his statement in this instance as a fact." Video shows still shots of airport, man going through customs.

"But in the West there are still those who are backing the NTS followers." Video shows shots of Vienna, taken in 1986. The representer says the CSCE conference opened here at Hofburg Palace. Alongside the 35 states that assembled representatives from other organizations, the NTS also congregated here. A presentation was held near Hofburg called Helsinki Mirror. "What was reflected in this mirror? The positive changes occurring in the Soviet Union: glasnost, democratization, restructuring? No, the Helsinki Mirror proved to be distorting because only the usual stock phrases of bourgeoius propaganda were noticeable in it. The presentation in Vienna seemed to be typical to me. In trying to expand their international activities, the NTS and other similar organizations want to sow mistrust amongst peoples and wreck the process for the relaxation of international tension." Video shows proceedings at Hofburg palace.

The film then cuts to shots of a cruiser at sea, mother and child on beach, seagulls flying above. The presenter signs off thus: "When you get to know the activities of the NTS in detail and you talk to those who worked in this emigre organization for various reasons, you begin to understand what Senderov and those like him are worth. This is why we decided to call this programme 'Without Make-Up'."

In the credits Stanislav Tarasov is named as the author of the program.

Official Interviewed on Increase in Cases of Fraud

LD1403150589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1300 GMT on 14 March carries a 5 minute interview by correspondent Anatoliy Federov with militia Colonel Viktor Petrovich Abrosev, head of a department of the Main Directorate for Combating the Misappropriation of Socialist Property of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Discussing the slow progress being made following measures taken in the agroindustrial sphere and in the processing industry to stop fraud, Abrosev says: "Despite certain reductions in the number of offenses brought to light, including theft by embezzlement and speculation and through the abuse of official position, the damage inflicted by mercenary infringements is not going down, but, according to figures from last year, has risen by 69 percent." Abrosev says that the problem is due, in part, to lack of personal responsibility and lax accounting, and he gives examples of fraud to illustrate the point that "as a rule, the biggest thefts are committed where agriculture and processing come together."

Correspondent Federov says that "it is easy to surmise that the people from the mafia, as they are called, people involved in organized crime, are behind all these millions in thefts, and that this is attested by the document concerning various crimes that have already been investigated." Abrosev responds: "Yes, that is precisely the case," and goes on to say that last year, people dealing in spirits worth hundreds of thousands of rubles had been stopped in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldavia, the Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and some oblasts in the RSFSR.

He explains that many crimes are made possible by lack of supervision and accountants' neglect, adding: "In our view, it is entirely ill-founded that they have started to cut back the auditing and control services in the state agroindustrial system. In some republican agrocommittees, the auditors have been cut by up to 50 percent, and one in three has been cut in the RSFSR State Agroindustrial Committee." This has made crime prevention doubly difficult. Unfortunately, sometimes accountants have been involved in criminal activities: "In the past 3 years, around 12,000 of them have been prosecuted," Abrosev says.

Abrosev lists some of the underlying causes of such frauds. He concludes with the hope that tomorrow's party Central Committee plenum would improve agrarian policy and promote further improvement in the safeguarding of socialist property in the agroindustrial complex.

'Jammers' Relay Republic Broadcasts to Moscow

LD1503031389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2330 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] A new application for radio-jamming transmitters, the so-called jammers [glushilki], has been found by experts of the USSR Ministry of Communications and USSR Gosteleradio. They have started being used for relaying radio programs from the union republics to Moscow.

As the chief director of the main management of programs of central broadcasting within the Soviet Union of USSR Gosteleradio, (Aleksandr Ivanovich Akhtyrskiy), reported: On the 31- and 49-meter frequencies, we are receiving broadcasts from the Ukraine, Belorussia, Moldavia, Lithuania Latvia, and Estonia; and from 21 March onwards, broadcasts from Transcaucasian republics will start, and a week after that, from Central Asia.

This is one more step toward strengthening interethnic ties in the country. Representatives of tens of nationalities living in the capital and numerous guests of Moscow will now be able to listen to broadcasts in their native language and acquaint themselves with the culture and customs of fraternal peoples.

ARMENPRES, NKAO Paper Set Up Direct Link

NC1403152089 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Report by correspondent A. Grigoryan]

[Text] Yerevan, 13 Mar (ARMENPRES)—A direct teleprinter link has been established between ARMENPRES Information Service, which is affiliated with the Council of Ministers, and the SOVETAKAN KARABAKH newspaper. This link facilitates the reception of party, international, and republican news from Armenia to the press organ of the special administration committee of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO].

We have waited a long time for this day, said the oblast paper's correspondent Maksim Ogannesyan. However, what is extremely noteworthy, he said, is the opportunity created for our readers to be more quickly informed about life in Armenia. The new link will perceptibly diminish the problems faced by the paper's editorial staff and will markedly accelerate the preparations for publication. Shortly, he continued, we will also establish a telephoto link with ARMENPRES. Experts are working

in the publication's building for its installation. This technical innovation will help us to finally solve the problem of receiving and publishing official photo reports.

Also, a step has been taken toward consolidating ties between the NKAO and Armenia, he said, which is proof that the plans for the oblast's multifaceted development are being fulfilled.

Restructuring Boosts 'Inturist' Activity
LD1303222889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1515 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 13 March (TASS)—"The Soviet Union regards tourism as an important instrument for mutual cognition, peace strengthening, and friendship between the peoples. That is why the restructuring of all spheres of public life currently under way in the country boosts the activity of Soviet "Inturist," too," Vladimir Pavlov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Tourism, said. He spoke at the official opening of the second tourist advertising and commercial stock exchange in Moscow. Representatives of firms and agencies of nearly 50 countries participated in it.

The economic importance of tourism and its contribution to mutual understanding between peoples were emphasized in the final document of the Vienna meeting of the CSCE member states, Vladimir Pavlov recalled. "A number of recommendations contained in the document, specifically concerning the simplification of visa and customs formalities, the perfection of the tourism infrastructure, and the encouragement of joint ventures promotes the development of tourist turnover. Soviet "Inturist" supports these initiatives and works on their implementation."

Having noted that the scale of work carried out by "Inturist," which receives 2 million visitors from abroad annually, does not correspond to its potential capacity, Vladimir Pavlov outlined the measures aimed at changing the situation. They involve, primarily, the expansion of the material base of tourism—the construction of new hotels in Moscow and Leningrad, the Transcaucasus, Central Asia, Siberia, and in the Far East. New kinds of tourism are being introduced and the geography of travel is being expanded. The rules regulating foreign tourists' entry in the USSR and Soviet tourists' exit from the USSR are being simplified.

"The further expansion of glasnost and democracy, the openness of Soviet society, and the new political thinking based on admitting the priority of values common to humankind, will have a positive effect on the development of tourism in the future, too," the chairman of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Tourism stressed.

W. Parr, secretary general of the World Tourist Organization [WTO], greeted participants in the stock exchange. He noted the USSR's active role in the work of the WTO.

Phone-In Program on Trade Union Issues
LD0603221889

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1045 GMT ON 4 March broadcasts a 75-minute phone-in program entitled "Restructuring and the Trade Unions," presented by commentator Boris Kondratov. The program guest, AUCCTU chairman Stepan Alekseyevich Shalayev, answers listeners' telephoned and written queries.

Opening the program, Kondratov notes that it is obvious from the letters received that people have started turning more frequently with their complaints to the committees of professional trade unions. Kondraftov proceeds to speak to Shalayev about characteristic features of trade union activity over last 18 months. Shalayev notes that the main thing which distinguishes the work of the trade unions is restructuring, "for in order to actively participate in the restructuring of the economic, social, and public political life, the trade unions have to restructure themselves. They themselves must change both the style and form of work, to be closer to people and to improve the solving of all those questions brought by the working people to the trade unions. Therefore, recently all our efforts have been aimed at drawing our trade unions organizations in reality closer to people. The main thing which has to be singled out in the work of trade unions organizations is first and foremost the stepping up of the care for people."

Answering Kondratov's question about the increased frequency of his business trips, Shalayev notes that these trips are prompted by the current election campaign during which people are raising their proposals and requirements toward the trade unions. Shalayev notes that it is very important that the next AUCCTU plenum, which will be held on 22 March, when the final voting of deputies from trade unions is held, contain good instructions for the deputies who will be elected there.

The questions that follow concern the essence of the pre-election platform of the trade unions, the influence of the trade unions in social issues, such as the level of pensions and maintaining the current price levels of articles such as childrens' clothing. Shalayev notes that this platform will enhance the role of the trade unions and raise the responsibility of trade union officials.

A listener asks a question on the AUCCTU'S stance with regard to the planned construction of a large-scale tourist complex in Goluboy Zaliv, in the Crimea. Shalayev replies that the AUCCTU considers the construction of a tourist complex in the spa zone not expedient. "We are against it, we think the spa zone should be left for spa facilities," Shalayev says.

The following exchange then takes place:

"[Kondratov] Comrade Berezovskaya from Kaluga asks what is your attitude to the strikes to which the socialist system has also found itself subjected?

"[Shalayev] I would like to say at once that our legislation does not contain any norms that prohibit strikes, and indeed individual groups of workers did stop work temporarily at several enterprises last year on account of labor disputes with the administration.

"[Kondratov] And what were the reasons?

"[Shalayev] As a rule, you know, the causes of conflict were either infringements of the labor legislation on transfer to new conditions of work payment, bringing people in to work on rest days without good reason or to do overtime, unsatisfactory working conditions, and so on. In other words, labor conflicts of that kind have taken place. There were not many of them, but they did take place. I am not referring to the strikes in Armenia, Boris Fedorovich; they were brought about for different reasons, as we know.

"[Kondratov] Yes, for different reasons.

"[Shalayev] Our attitude to strikes is straightforward. We cannot regard them as a normal manifestation in our society, in the first place because both our management bodies and our trade unions possess sufficient rights, they possess the possibilities for reaching a legal and just...I would say for a timely examination of labor conflicts or labor disputes.

"[Kondratov] But obviously the law on the trade unions we will be talking about later will no doubt give more of these rights to the working people.

"[Shalayev] We are counting on that."

Kondratov then turns to the telephone and brings in the first caller who congratulates Shalayev on his nomination as a candidate deputy. Asked to introduce herself, the caller turns out to be Mariya Georgiyevna Ulina, a member of the AUCCTU Central Auditing Commission and well known to Shalayev. She asks about progress in working out the draft law on trade unions and is told by Shalayev that "we presented it recently to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium" whose agreement is needed for its discussion by all the people. Shalayev goes on: "I think that the presidium will examine it, with our participation, in the very ner future, perhaps in a month or 6 weeks, and that we will be able to publish it for nationwide discussion." Ulina then asks about the campaign against bureaucracy within the trade unions and is told by Shalayev that most documents restricting the activities of primary trade union organizations have already been lifted; these now have very wide rights and it is up to everyone to combat bureaucracy.

There follow a number of points about housing problems and the need to revise the extent to which an invalid's pension is reduced as his earnings rise above R120 per month. A listener then telephones the following question:

"The trade unions take a position of principle regarding labor protection and the health and lives of people. Unfortunately, recently a number of leaders have developed an attitude not of the kind required by the trade unions with regard to this issue because of the changeover of financial autonomy and self-financing. The technical labor inspectorate is also unable to exert pressure. The many-million strong army of labor protection engineers and public inspectors has been left, as they say, without support in this matter. I would therefore like to put this question to you: How do you view the setting up of an association of labor protection engineers of the USSR national economy, Aleksey Stepanovich, which would also include technical inspectors, labor protection engineers, and public inspectors—in other words, it will be a many-million strong army which will have the right under the aegis of the AUCCTU. I believe that such organizations have already existed in a number of countries for a long time, but in our country, unfortunately, it has to be said that this issue has been neglected."

Shalayev replies: You have raised a very, very important question. We ourselves now feel that with the changeover to lease-contracting relationships, under the conditions of the economic reform, many leaders—and sometimes they are also supported by the councils of labor collectives—are examining independently issues concerning labor and rest patterns. In many lease-contracting collectives the working time has already become 10 hours, and even more than 10 hours, and apparently all of this is being done with the agreement of the workers themselves. But there is state labor legislation. Our fathers and grandfathers stormed the Winter Palace for an 8-hour working day, not for a 12-hour working day. Here the position of the trade unions, in our view, has to be very firm, very principled, and, I would say, effective. In this respect your suggestion that an association of engineers dealing with problems of labor protection problems and stepping up monitoring of labor protection conditions should be set up seems to me to be a very important one, for example. It is the first time that I have heard such a proposal, and I consider it to be a very interesting and important proposal which the AUCCTU must examine."

A caller from Sverdlovsk recounts the sacking of the director of the library at which she works, a woman held in high esteem as an organizer and manager. The caller complains that the oblast trade union committee approached the case in an unprincipled and biassed way, promising her collective one thing but doing another. The caller says that an attempt is being made to foist a new director on the collective, and she demands that the proper legislation be upheld. She says that the collective

has decided to boycott the decision of the oblast trade union committee until the former director is restored to her post. Shalayev says he is disturbed to hear of this case, and promises to send a competent trade union official to Sverlovsk to look into the matter.

Kondratov then reads a note from a listener called Tuzmin:

"From many years' experience I know that failed party workers often enter into trade union work. I think that this does no favors either for party or trade union bodies."

The following discussion ensues:

"[Shalayev] Comrade Kuzmin is right. I would say that we ourselves condemn such cases where separate party bodies deprive trade unions of independence in the selection of cadres, including cadres of leading trade union workers. As you know, Boris Fedorovich, we stated this in all clarity at the 19th All-Union Party conference....

"[Kondratov] ...not to allow job placement?

"[Shalayev] Not to allow job placement. We are seeking not to permit the placement of staffers who, say, have failed to prove themselves in other work, or who have compromised themselves, the economic, soviet or party.... I want to say that the party Central Committee firmly supports us in this stance. I think also that the law we are preparing on the rights of the trade unions and our latest decision on the organization of the elections of leaders of trade union bodies on a competitive basis...in general, this changes the state of affairs. Now, patronage, even the most persitent, under a competitive system, given the nomination of several candidates to the post of this or that leader...patronage doesn't work. Here, the personal qualities and the authority of this or that trade union staffer, or this or that candidate are important.

"We are already holding elections on such a competitive basis for the leaders of central committees, councils of trade unions, and this is showing that fighters really are coming into the leadership, active staffers, really...and if one speaks of party workers, I have to say for the sake of objectivity that in recent times, not a few very experienced organizers who are actively restructuring their own work, the work of the trade unions, and the work of the apparatus and councils of the central trade union committees have entered trade unions from party work. And very good results are being obtained."

Kondratov raises a question by a caller who asks whether Shalayev feels that a recent trade union event for internationalist troops was just another "scheduled" event. Shalayev says he regrets that there is some truth in this and that so many problems and acute remarks, specific requests, and suggestions arise that he himself has begun to wonder whether the AUCCTU is seeking to substitute various actions for every-day concern about them. The matter will be discussed at the next meeting of the AUCCTU Presidium, he says.

Kondratov notes that time has run out and ends the program.

Deputy Foreign Minister Adamishin on Human Rights
AU1003183989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Mar 89 p 5

[Interview with USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin by RABOTNICHESKO DELO special correspondent Petur Punchev, in Geneva on 8 March: "The Passion for Accusations Will Recede"]

[Text] Geneva, 8 March (RABOTNICHESKO DELO special correspondent Petur Punchev)—the UN Human Rights Commission is now in the fifth week of its 45th session in the Palace of Nations in Geneva. The session is scheduled to end on 10 March.

However, the issues being discussed and the resolutions that are being prepared and are yet to be adopted are so numerous and delicate that it is still not known whether the session will end on time. There is mention of the possibility of "stopping the clock" in the hall, a diplomatic device that has been used more than once at international forums.

The main event today was the speech by USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoliy Adamishin. He spoke in detail about the changes in the Soviet Union in recent years and on how they were reflected in the Soviet Union's foreign policy activities, including the field of international humanitarian cooperation.

For the first time, Anatoliy Adamishin announced that, under the recently adopted decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, his country has recognized the jurisdiction of the UN International Court as binding in the interpretation and application of a number of important international agreements on human rights. I asked Anatoliy Adamishin to comment on the aims and importance of this decision specially for the readers of RABOTNICHESKO DELO:

"With pleasure," he replied. "I know your newspaper, and read it attentively during my holiday in Bulgaria.

"In the past, when we adopted a number of conventions, such as the 1948 one on preventing genocide, the conventions on combatting trading in people (1949), on women's political rights (1952), on eliminating all forms of racial discrimination (1965), and others, we accepted them with certain reservations, which did not accept the jurisdiction of the UN International Court as binding in the interpretation and application of these conventions. Now, in accordance with our desire to increase control on observing human rights and to strengthen trust in international relations, all these reservations were

revoked by decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. We consider that any possibility of variance between words and deeds will thereby be avoided. In our view, this is the way for all countries—it is in our common interest to have such a court of appeal in the world, which might pronounce verdicts applicable to all."

[Punchev] How do you regard the prospects for international humanitarian cooperation in the near future, and what, in your view, hinders the more speedy solution of the existing problems?

[Adamishin] I think that international humanitarian cooperation should, as a whole, follow the main trends in the development of international affairs. In other words, manifestations of confrontation will decrease, there will be fewer cases of admonishing others and showing a passion for accusations. All this will give way to real cooperation. In my speech today, I gave a very fresh example, namely the work of 27 American psychiatrists in Soviet psychiatric institutions. They have equipment available that we do not have, which may help the patients and our scientists, while the Soviet specialists may also be of use to their American colleagues. In this manner, certain mistakes that have been made can be revealed and put right. There is the well-known example of the U.S. human rights fighter Leonard Peltier, who was examined by Soviet opthalmologists. Their intervention helped Peltier and alleviated his sufferings in the U.S. prison. These are just two examples for you of humanitarian cooperation, which provides greater benefit than admonishing one another on how one should live. We believe that every country should live as its inhabitants decide, in conformity, of course, with the international agreements.

[Punchev] Meanwhile the discussions continue in Hall 17 of the Palace of Nations on the form of the resolutions that have already been debated. The general impression is that this session differs most notably from the previous ones in the tone of the speeches, which are characterized by the desire for understanding and to find solutions for disputed issues.

Historians Assail Anti-Zionist Campaigns

* Rhetoric Compared to Hitler's Writings

WA18300346 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 9 Feb 89 p 6

[Article by S. Rogov, doctor of historical sciences, and V. Nosenko, candidate of historical sciences: "What 'A' Said and What 'B' Said"]

[Text] **Recently questions of international relations have become a priority on the restructuring agenda. Many publications justifiably note that for a multinational state such as ours a timely solution to problems that arise within this sphere is completely essential. Otherwise, national problems will become a serious impediment to restructuring within the economic and political spheres. Many such problems have accumulated. During the Stalin era Lenin's national policy was subject to great distortions. During the years of stagnation glorification was the substitute for a practical solution to national questions.**

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum on International Relations, which will take place this year, must develop a specific program of action directed at rejuvenating the international Leninist concept of fraternalism of all Soviet people within the framework of the Soviet Union. A dependable mechanism must be created to guarantee the rights and interests of every people and every nationality that is part of the fraternal union.

Who is "Correcting" Lenin?

A clear and objective analysis of the situation that has developed within the national sphere is essential on the threshold of this important event. Unfortunately, in today's critical and candid discussions of these problems we come across not only well-founded and reasonable conclusions but also extreme points of view and the demonstration of a lack of respect for the national feelings of other people. The situation has gone as far as an attempt to bring back to life the prejudices that seemingly would have disappeared long ago.

Today the question of the development of a national culture, whether Russian or Estonian, Armenian, or Chukot, is being discussed fervently and keenly everywhere. However, as soon as the discussion turns to the Jewish culture, doubts appear about posing the very question.

V. Begun attempts to "doubt" in an article published in the journal NASH SOVREMENNIK (No 11, 1988). The author's response is simple: "...If you take away Judaism from the concept of Jewish 'national culture' you are left with a poor remnant." To convince us, reference is made to the Israeli journal, "Time and We," which "openly states that the 'national culture' is synonymous with Jewish religion." There are further references to Zionist sources which lead the reader to the conclusion that Jewish culture is only anti-Soviet propoganda and terrorism.

The author passes off his reasoning as the Marxist-Leninist view, in support of which he quotes V. I. Lenin: "Whoever directly or indirectly uses the catchword Jewish 'national culture,' that individual (no matter how well-intentioned) is an enemy of the proletariat, an advocate of the old and exclusive in Judaism and an accomplice of rabbis and the bourgeoisie."

To see the extent of the distortion to which Leninist concepts have been subject, let us turn to the original source. In 1912 Lenin wrote: "There are two national cultures within every national culture. There is the Great Russian culture of the Purishkeviches, the Guchkovs, and Struve, but there is also the Great Russian culture

characterized by names such as Chernyshevskiy and Plekhanov. In the same way there are two cultures in the Ukraine, in Germany, France, England, among the Jews, and so forth" (V. I. Lenin, PSS [Complete Works], vol 24, p 129).

According to V. I. Lenin, in an exploitative society the "catchword 'national culture' is a clerical or bourgeois deception whether we speak of a Great Russian, Ukrainian, Jewish, Polish, Georgian, or any other culture" (PSS, vol 24, p 9). According to V. Begun it turns out that the Leninist criticism of reactionary elements that prevailed during that historical period in every national culture has been transformed into a condemnation of only Jewish national culture. Meanwhile, V. I. Lenin wrote: "...The same thing applies to the most oppressed and persecuted nation, the Jews. Jewish national culture is the catchword of rabbis and the bourgoisie, the catchword of our enemies. But there are other elements in Jewish culture and in the entire history of Judaism." Further, V. I. Lenin emphasized the "great international-progressive features of the Jewish culture—its internationalism, its responsiveness to the leading movements of the epoch (the percentage of Jews in democratic and proletarian movements is higher everywhere than the percentage of Jews in the population as a whole)" (PSS, Vol 24, pp 122-123).

V. Begun "corrects" Leninist thought in such a way as to reduce Jewish national culture only to religion and to Zionist subversive activities. He prefers to remain silent about its progressive traditions. The aims of Zionist propaganda are brought forth as truth. After all it is the Zionists in particular who feel that only in the synagogue or Zionist circle can the Jew satisfy his cultural needs.

Of course, it is absurd to negate the effect of religion on culture. The celebration of the 1,000 years of Christianity in Russia has once again demonstrated how unwise it is to silence entire cultural strata solely because they relate to Russian Orthodoxy. Incidentally, the journal NASH SOVREMENNIK was one of the first to raise this important subject...However, when the conversation turns to Judaism and the Jewish culture the assessment sometimes changes to the very opposite.

V. Begun confirms: "Judaism forbids everything that is not related to religion, and first and foremost fine arts, philosophy, belles lettres, music and the natural sciences." It is not difficult to note that the author is moving toward an unfounded substitution of concepts. Is it possible that he thinks that other religions provided incentives for science? Why demand from Judaism the fulfillment of those functions that are not inherent in religion in general? Finally, what is the point of analyzing a contemporary culture using the standards of a feudal society?

It would not be superfluous to remind ourselves that even during the epoch of feudalism when the Hebrews were artificially imprisoned within the walls of the ghetto and when religion truly did determine the nature of European culture, their interaction with other peoples took place within the sphere not only of the material but also of the spiritual culture. Instead of an ancient Hebrew language, which remained the language of a religious cult, new languages became widespread—Yiddish for the Jews of Russia and Poland, which developed on the basis of the Rhenish dialect of the German language, and for the Jews of the Mediterranean—Latino, the basis for which was the Castilian dialect of the Spanish language. The process of assimilation of Jews which developed after the bourgeois revolutions and which gave Jews equal rights in a number of European countries during the 19th century, led the Jewish culture out of isolation and to a breakthrough into the spiritual values of world civilization.

Some contemporary "specialists" forget that the Leninist concept of the Jewish question foresaw, in addition to everything else, the securing of free development of democratic directions in Jewish culture. It was V. I. Lenin, underscoring the progressiveness of eliminating Jewish isolation, who categorically opposed forced assimilation. He noted: "The workers of those nations which during capitalism were oppressors must exercise special care with regard to the national feeling of the nation of oppressed (for example, Great Russians, Ukrainians, Poles with regard to Jews, Tatars with regard to Bashkirs and so on); what is required is facilitation not only of actual equality but also the development of the language and literature of the working masses in the previously-oppressed nations in order to eliminate all traces of mistrust and alienation inherited from the epoch of capitalism" (PSS, vol 38, p 111). Isn't the position here clear—in socialist society all nations have an equal right to the free development of their cultures?

Toward a History of the Problem

After the October revolution our country took a course toward democratically solving national problems, including the Jewish question, in strict accordance with the principles put forth by Lenin. Already in early 1918 the Jewish Commissariat was created within the People's Commissariat on Matters of Nationality. It was involved in cultural-educational problems in addition to others. In the RSFSR and Belorussia Jews were recognized as a national minority, and in Belorussia Yiddish was proclaimed an official language along with Russian, Belorussian and Polish.

Yiddish newspapers and journals were published especially for the Jewish population. In regions with a large Jewish population schools were established in which teaching was done in Yiddish. The names of P. Markish, L. Kvitko and other Yiddish writers became known. The Moscow Jewish State Chamber Theater directed by S.

Mikhoels created innovative, bright shows...All of this, however, did not interfere with the development of the process of natural and voluntary assimilation of the Jewish working masses.

In general during those years the public mood was such that any demonstration of chauvinism and nationalism, including Zionism and anti-Semitism, was looked upon as extremely hostile to the revolution. After all, during that period the bloody pogroms were not yet erased from memory and there were no doubts about the true goals of the Black Hundred whose cover was "concern" about "saving Russia."

It should be noted that in words even Stalin branded anti-Semitism, declaring that "communists, as consistent internationalists, cannot but be intolerant of and the sworn enemies of anti-Semitism. In the USSR anti-Semitism is strictly prosecuted as a phenomenon that is deeply hostile to the Soviet structure" (J. V. Stalin, Works, vol 13, p 28). But as in all else, there was a big gap between the words and deeds of Stalin.

It was during Stalin's reign in the 1930's that there was a gradual turn away from the indicated path for solving the Jewish question. The administrative-command system that developed in the country rejected Leninist principles and especially Lenin's delicacy in approaching national problems. Already by the late 1930's all Jewish educational institutions and almost all cultural institutes were closed. The problem was simply declared fully decided—in the spirit of a phrase from "The Golden Calf:" "Jews exist, but the problem does not." For long years the conviction reigned that the rebirth of either Jewish nationalism or anti-Semitism was impossible in this country. The conviction was illusory. Neither of these phenomena has disappeared, they were just hidden away awaiting their hour.

A most difficult catastrophe for the Jews was Hitler's genocide during World War II. Beginning with Jewish pogroms in Germany, the Fascists moved toward a "final solution to the Jewish question"—the complete elimination of all Jews simply because they were Jews. The saving of the Jewish population from complete destruction by the Soviet Army not only in the USSR but in all of Europe gave rise in most Soviet Jews of a hope that in the victorious country where each citizen regardless of nationality made his contribution to the general victory there would be no place for mutual mistrust among nationalities. It is for this reason that the blows that came about in the 1940's-1950's were so psychologically unhealthy. They included the struggle against the "homeless cosmopolitans," the destruction of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, the physical elimination of people active in Jewish culture, the transparent hints that a "fifth column" existed in the country consisting of "agents of world Zionism," and finally the "doctor's affair" that was a lie from beginning to end. In essence Stalin's command-administrative system was ready to turn to a tested weapon of reaction—anti-Semitism. New "enemies of the people" were needed to support the atmosphere of a "heightening class struggle;" now they were sought not for political reasons but for reasons of nationality.

After the exposure of the cult of personality at the 20th CPSU Congress there was a gradual reestablishment of the Leninist approach to international relations. The publication of Soviet Jewish writers began, the magazine SOVETISH GEYMLAND began to be published in Yiddish and a number of Jewish theater collectives were created. However, there were clearly not enough such measures to rejuvinate the crushed Jewish culture. Traces of the Stalin period were not fully removed at that time. During those years the real state of affairs in the struggle against "cosmopolitanism" was not assessed in the necessary way just as the very concept was not properly appreciated...A "veil of silence" created around many questions held back the commonplace recognition of national prejudices, which were greatly furthered during the last years of Stalin's administration.

The hushing up of the Jewish subject was one of the factors that facilitated the appearance of nationalist feelings in some Soviet Jews. These feelings began to surface openly when Zionists, and not only Zionists, began a campaign of ideological influence on the Jewish population of our country from abroad. It is finally time to think about the real reasons why during the last 20 years tens of thousands of Jews gave up Soviet citizenship and left for other places, including Israel.

We cannot close our eyes to the fact that all types of pro-Zionist groups and circles operated in the country. They did not limit themselves to the ideological working up of "potential emigrants;" they had other goals as well. The development around Jews of an atmosphere of distrust and suspicion inspires emigration sentiments much more effectively than calls to resettle in the "Promised Land."

Let's call things by their real names. During that period a classical symptom of the political cult of stagnation appeared—the presence of problems was denied verbally, but in action the bureacracy diligently overinsured itself. Because of the emigration of thousands, and even tens of thousands, many Jews who before had never even considered leaving their homeland were faced with problems related to receiving an education and employment. During the 1970's the number of Jewish students in higher educational institutions decreased by half twice; the traditionally high proportion of Jews among specialists decreased. Of course the limitations were secret but basically they operated unfailingly. In the ensuing situation many Jews preferred to conceal their nationality, and even individual cases of this type unavoidably lead to a moral loss for the entire society.

Instead of beginning a consistent and objective criticism of Zionist ideology, a verbose but little-argued counter-propaganda campaign was begun. Unfortunately, it was

not characterized by far by principle, objectivity and delicacy, i.e. by those qualities without which a Marxist approach to everything that has to do with national relations is unthinkable.

We know that any large-scale propaganda campaign, the basis of which is an extremely simplified approach toward the object of criticism, unavoidably attracts people who are not only little qualified but also, gently speaking, unscrupulous, who do not abhor garbling and a distortion of the facts for the sake of "a scientific foundation" for previously-established aims. It was also not possible to avoid the anti-Zionist counterpropaganda influx of pseudospecialists who threw themselves into branding and exposing the ideological postulates and actions of Zionists without reigning themselves in too much with concerns about the correspondence of their inferences to existing reality. Incidentally, the scientific approach in this campaign was not much required—here a denunciatory zeal was preferred to competency. All of this condemned anti-Zionist counterpropaganda to lose those moral and political orientation points which predetermine the effectiveness of any purposeful ideological work with the masses.

In the course of such criticism first and foremost the difference between the concepts of "Zionist" and "Jew" were erased and Judaism was interpreted in a way that was insulting to the religious feelings of religious Jews—as being the most misanthropic among world religions. Almost any demonstration of Jewish national self-identification was declared a Zionist eccentricity. As for Zionism itself, it was viewed as a "special variant of ultraimperialism, an international trust of capitalists exploiting the world," i.e. it was ascribed a domineering influence within the system of imperialism. Some "accusations" made against Zionism were close to, if they did not coincide with, anti-Semitic ideas about an international Jewish conspiracy, which at different times included the Black Hundred and fascists. In order not to be unsubstantiated, let us present excerpts from the "works" of two authors. For the present we will not disclose their names, but will refer to them as "A" and "B."

Let the Reader Compare

"A" writes about the threat of "Jewish world supremacy" and emphasizes: "Although Zionists attempt to convince the entire world that the national self-consciousness of the Jew is manifested in the creation of a state in Palestine, the Jews are again duping the goys. It has not even occurred to Jews to build a Jewish state in Palestine for the purpose of living there; all they need is an organizational center for their international machinations, endowed with sovereign rights and protected from the interference of other states."

"B" writes that "the striving toward international supremacy is characteristic of the exclusively imperialistic Jewish bourgeoisie and Zionist fanatics," and emphasizes: "In order to conceal the main strategic goal of the Zionist movement to establish supremacy over the world, some authors reduce Zionism to Palestinism, the striving to resettle all Jews in their country and to eliminate the Diaspora. It is essential to decisively object to this kind of interpretation of Zionism. The elimination of the Diaspora never entered the plans of Zionists and the creation of a Jewish state was not a main goal but subordinate to a more important aim."

"A" writes that "the Jew was always a parasite on the bodies of other peoples," and declares: "As for economic life, the situation is deteriorating more and more. Here the Jewish people have become truly 'indispensable.' A spider begins to slowly suck the blood from national pores."

"B" writes that "Zionism is characterized by...a parasitic essence" and declares that "Israel, which was created by Zionists" is a "predatory octopus, the tentacles of which, representing Zionist organizations, have encircled half the world and are sucking the life's blood from various countries, i.e. the millions created through the labor of workers and peasants."

"A" differentiates between "false anti-Semitism" and "anti-Semitism on the correct basis" and declares pogroms as "outbreaks of popular rage." He writes: "Finances and trade are becoming a Jewish monopoly-...The Jews' bloodsucking tyranny is becoming so great that excesses are arising with regard to it...At a moment of deep despair rage against it begins to break through and the robbed and hapless masses begin to protect themselves against God's curse."

"B" emphasizes the necessity of "differentiating between genuine anti-Semitism and fabricated and imaginary anti-Semitism." He writes: "One of the important reasons for the repression that has fallen upon the Jews...was economic exploitation, the personification of which was the rapacious Jewish lessees, tax-farmers, userers and innkeepers;" "anti-Semitism can arise as a spontaneous response by enslaved strata of the working population to barbaric exploitation on the part of the Jewish bourgeoisie;" "the people's rage against Jewish userers, tavern-keepers, factory owners, merchants and other expoliters."

"A" writes: "The Jew, having completely subordinated Masonry, obtained an excellent instrument for fighting for his goals. Government circles and the upper strata of the political and economic bourgeoisie are being pulled into this net with the help of Masonry."

"B" emphasizes the "control by Zionists of Masons," and also the "close union of masons and international Zionism."

Let us reveal our secret: "A" is Adolf Hitler, "B" is V. Begun. The quotes are taken from "Mein Kampf" (A. Hitler, "Mein Kampf," Boston, 1971, pp 377, 324-325,

304, 193, 121, 122, 309-310, 315) and the pamphlets by V. Begun, "Creeping Counterrevolution" (Minsk, 1974, pp 63, 58, 78, 85-86, 79, 83), "Invasion without Arms" (Moscow, Molodaya Gvaridya, 1977, pp 21, 22) and "Stories of the Children of a Widow" (Minsk, 1983, pp 90, 51). This juxtaposition could have been continued, but it is already evident—the coincidence of arguments is obvious. The only difference is that Hitler was writing about Jews and Begun is writing about Zionists. But let us dot the "i." When a discussion turns to Zionists here, there is hardly any doubt what nationality we are talking about. Our "specialists" on Zionist criticism have elucidated this problem thoroughly. Since in propaganda there was often an erasure of the boundaries between the concept of "Zionist" and "Jew", the camouflage that Begun uses is very transparent.

As we know, there can be no nationality without national self-consciousness and national culture. Although the Jews in the USSR have the rights of nationality, V. Begun asserts that "the catchword of Jewish 'national culture' is reactionary in its essence at the present time because it pursues diversionary-subversive goals" and "proceeds from foreign anti-communist centers." In his words, "Zionists, going into an anti-Zionist campaign, cover their real intentions with the highly raised flag of so-called national culture..." Isn't it clear that if the question is posed this way any expression of national feeling on the part of Jews is branded as Zionist plots?

We have presented all of these excerpts not for the purpose of accusing V. Begun of plagiarism. In the final analysis every researcher, in working out his own position, determines whose point of view is close to his and whose he differs with completely. In the given case we want to pose just one question—with such coincidences is it proper to consider V. Begun's position Marxist, even if he "insures himself" with passages taken out of context from the works of K. Marx and V. I. Lenin?

Should we consider declarations like the following a contribution to strengthening international relations: "Many traditions and customs that are awkward and indecent under contemporary conditions have disappeared, Jews have cut off their pais [ear locks] and have substituted European dress for lapserdaks [long overcoats]. However, the spirit of Judaism itself has not undergone radical changes"? Whose interests are served by V. Begun when he asserts that "under conditions of the contemporary ideological struggle Judaism uses forces hostile to Soviet society, such as the preparatory class for joining Zionism, as the instigator of Jewish chauvinism and nationalism"? Can it be that such insults to the feelings of believers would have been possible with regard to the followers of Christianity or Islam?

In our opinion the answer could only be a negative one. We have expressed similar opinions previously. What were the results? According to reports in the journal POLITICHESKIY SOBESEDNIK (No 12, 1988), all of the published works coming from the pen of V. Begun were studied by a special commission of scientists created by the party committee of the BSSR Academy of Sciences. No identification of Zionism and Judaism or propaganda of the idea of a plot were found, thereby giving V. Begun the indulgence to continue his "debunking" activities. All of these accusations, it was said, are nothing more than the result of vulgar remnants...Don't we have here a plot of a whole series of publications?

Restructuring Is Needed Here, Too

Unfortunately, V. Begun is not alone not only in his interpretation of Zionism but also in his approach to those questions that deal with Jewish national self-expression, including Jewish culture. The press (IZVESTIYA, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA) has already written about a group of authors whose articles and books with their "debunking" of Zionism it is difficult to view as anything but anti-scientific and disorienting to the reader. The scientific criticism of Zionism as a variety of Jewish bourgeois nationalism is one of the urgent and responsible areas of ideological work within the sphere of international relations; any errors tolerated here can be very costly. For a long time people who hold the same view as V. Begun and who had the support of influential patrons set the tone in anti-Zionist propaganda, operating with anti-Marxist goals.

In some people this kind of propaganda resulted in the candid non-acceptance of "official" information and the rejection of any proposed assessments and conclusions. In others it developed completely hypertrophied ideas about Zionism, provided fodder for conjecture about evil Zionist international plots and also simply gave rise to doubts with regard to the "civil dependability of Jews" in a socialist society.

Unfortunately, our party propagandists were also not always up to the mark and could not always see that Marxist-Leninist resolutions were being replaced by mistaken theses that were nationalistic in their essence. Today the results are evident. Those who believed this propaganda turned out to be prepared to believe the most absurd ideas of extremists from "Pamyat" with regard to an international Jewish-Masonic plot and to the presence here of "internal enemies" who could be recognized by their nationality. But not only "Pamyat" is making an attempt to work on society in this way. Let us remember the article of N. Andreyeva, which adds the thesis of "counterrevolutionary nations" to Marxism. There can hardly be any doubt whom this was directed against.

Like N. Andreyeva, V. Begun is trying to encourage his audience to distrust Soviet Jews. This is how he can be understood when he proclaims the development of Jewish culture in the USSR as the "solicitation of dubious

individuals" and when he edifyingly warns that "if we create completely respectable Jewish organizations, Zionist underground members will surge into them."

We must not forget about the attempts of Zionism to influence a portion of Soviet citizens. However, it has long been time to restructure work in this ideological area so that anti-Zionist propaganda, firstly, does not serve our enemies through its ignorance and bias and secondly, to work on drawing Soviet society together and not dividing it along national lines.

* Critique of Jewish Cultural Revival

WA18300346 Moscow NASH SOVREMENNIK in Russian No 11, Nov 88 pp 186-188

[Article by V. Begun, candidate of philosophical sciences, Minsk: "Once Again About 'Homelands'"]

[Text] In the letter, "Who Needs 'Homelands' and Why?" (NASH SOVREMENNIK, 1988, No 7), General G. Samoylovich criticizes the dialogue of N. Adzhubey and G. Popov published in the January issue of the journal ZNAMYA. The dialogue participants propose the creation in the country of "national homelands," that is, the implementation of the principle of "cultural-national autonomy," singling Saturday out as a kind of "national day."

G. Samoylovich justifiably demonstrates the nationalistic foundation of such proposals. "The doubtfulness of this kind of idea is evident since many questions arise, and first and foremost the most serious—will these homelands result in national isolation and as a consequence—in nationalism?" he asks. "Won't someone make use of them for inciting national hatred? Won't this undermine the friendship of the peoples of our country that has developed historically?"

Unfortunately, all of this already exists. In that same letter G. Samoylovich states that a still informal "Homeland of Israeli Citizens in the USSR," "The Association of Former Prisoners of Zion," and "Hebrew Women Against Refusal" have already developed. We can add here that in Leningrad, Minsk, Vilnius and Kishinev Zionist organizations and groups have already been formed, and in 1969 the All-Union Coordinating Committee of Zionist Groups and Organizations appeared in Moscow (Belaya kniga [White Book], Moscow, 1985, p 94). Each of these organizations is tied in one way or another to international Zionism and to the country of Israel. It is not difficult to imagine that if completely legitimate Jewish organizations are created, Zionist underground members and "informal groups" such as "prisoners of Zion" and "Israeli citizens" will rush into them. For this reason it would be unforgiveable to ignore the purely formal "Society of Jewish Culture" created recently in Estonia, as reported by the local press.

To start with let us recall some events from our recent history. The idea of Jewish "cultural-national autonomy" was put forth by Zionist historian S. Dubnov at the end of the last century and then was basically accepted by various Zionist parties of Russia as well as by the Bund. Its goal was to isolate Jews from the rest of the population, to subordinate them to international Zionism and in the final analysis to juxtapose the people and the government. The Zionist leader V. Zhabotinskiy wrote approximately thusly: "I wish to speak, study, write, to be involved in legal matters and to be governed in my national language; I do not intend to adapt myself or accomodate myself to anyone and demand the opposite, that the state adapt to my national demands..." (V. Zhabotinskiy, "Felyetony" [Feuilletons], St. Petersburg, 1913, p 253). Autonomy was widely propagandized by Zionists on the eve and soon after the revolution and called for the use of Hebrew in all spheres of culture, complete nationalization of schools and other areas of spiritual life, the mandatory observance of the religious holiday—Saturday (Sh. Ettinger, "History of the Hebrew People," part 6, Tel Aviv, 1967, p 618). Immediately after the October revolution numerous affiliates of a special Zionist organization, Tarbut, (KULTURA) were created; they began the nationalist working up of Jews in the guise of spreading culture (ibid., p 637). The same was also occurring in bourgeois Estonia. The congress of Jewish communities there in May 1919 passed several resolutions, including regarding the question of "cultural-national autonomy" (for example, "On the Foundation of National Autonomy," "On the School Question") as well as the resolution, "On Establishing Ties with National Jewish Organizations Abroad" (YEVREYSKAYA MOLODAYA MYSL, Revel, 7 Jun 19, pp 9-12). The Zionist journal printed in Revel emphasized, "Education and the dissemination of culture are the most important tasks of the Jewish community" (ibid., 15 Mar 19, p 6).

Communists have always been against the isolation of any nations or national minorities and have sought a close drawing together and friendship among peoples. Of course, the Bolsheviks did not speak out against national cultures or national languages but decisively opposed the complete spiritual foundation of these minorities and their subordination to the bourgeois influence in the guise of culture. Lenin wrote: "Whoever directly or indirectly uses the catchword of a Jewish 'national culture,' that individual (no matter how well-intentioned) is an enemy of the proletariat, an advocate of the old and exclusive in Judaism and an accomplice of rabbis and the bourgeoisie" (PSS, vol 24, p 123).

What is the essence of this "old" and why isn't it suitable for us today?

The fact is that Zionists and Jewish nationalists of any suit always implies the Jewish religion as the Jewish "national culture." Let us look at only a few of many unequivocal pronouncements in this area.

At the 3d Congress of the International Zionist Organization the speaker for cultural questions, Doctor Kan, said: "Religion comprises a large part of culture...If you buried cultural work, Zionism would be the first sufferer at the grave with succient words—Zionism will either be favorably disposed toward culture or culture will not exist" (Stenographisches Protokoll der Verhandlungen des III. Zionisten Congress), Basel, 15-18 August 1899, Vienna, 1899, p 199). N. Sokolov, a renowned Zionist leader, agrees with the speaker: "I envisage culture the way a rabbi envisages it, for me culture is a Talmudic society in the orthodox sense, a society demanding a Jewish literature and history" (ibid., p 211).

This is what was said earlier. The same thing is repeated now as well. In the Israeli journal "Time and We" it is directly stated that "national culture" is synonymous with the Judaic religion and that this is why it remains exceptionally poor in content ("Time and We," 1976, No 5, pp 116, 119-121, 126-127). The following admission is unavoidable: "In the historical plan the Talmud was always the main pivot of the entire Jewish culture. All of its multi-faceted aspects were tied in with the Talmud in one way or another" (A. Shtaynzalts, "Contours of the Talmud," Jerusalem, 1981, p 236).

In other words, if we remove Judaism from the concept of a Jewish "national culture" we will be left with a poor remnant. The reason, of course, is not in any kind of "decline" of Jews but in the decline of Judaism. Judaism forbids everything that is not related to religion and first and foremost fine arts, philosophy, belles lettres, music and natural sciences. This is why no one can name a philosopher equal to Plato, a writer equal to Shakespeare, an artist at least reminding us of Rafael, scientists close to the greatness of Galileo or Copernicus and so on who could be creative on the soil of Jewish "national culture." There were none. Those brilliant people from among Jews who have enriched world culture did their work on the national soil of the German, Dutch, English, Russian and other cultures. Understanding this, Israeli author A. Galin, despite all his propensity toward unrestrained apologetics for Judaism, nevertheless asseses the situation realistically: "As for national Jewish art, for centuries it has vegetated in the backwoods of the world stage. It was reduced to the production and adornment of cult objects, was limited to synagogue chants, and sought an outlet for itself in the touching but artless national song. Until recently there was no Jewish theater worthy of this name. The plastic arts were weighed down by religious prohibitions against depicting "that which is in the sky above, on the land below and in the water below the earth..." Everything that was achieved in the countries of persecution amounted to beginnings and rudiments" (A. Galin, "Israel—a Jewish State," Tel Aviv, 1958, pp 161-162).

That is the situation involving Jewish "national culture." But who knows about these "white spots" of history? In the mind of every person the concept of "national culture" is always associated with literature, art, music and theater but not with racism, chauvinism or religious obscurantism. This is why Zionists are grasping at straws and insinuating their ideology, which is so close to Judaism, under the specious excuse of developing a "national culture." Although they are the unsurpassed masters of hypocrisy and lies, their talkativeness is greater than any degree. I ask you to listen to the revelations of the newspaper THE JEWISH PRESS: "Our people did not spend their vaction in the Soviet Union for the sake of tourism; they did not try to go to the Bolshoy Theater. Their main task was to provide Soviet Jews with cult objects, religious books, slides, films and videocassettes...If the doors of a given object were closed to us, we went through the window. We have revitalized the interest of Soviet Jews in Judaism" (THE JEWISH PRESS, 3 Aug 84).

And how successful are these people? They are successful, otherwise they would not climb into windows or cracks. THE JEWISH PRESS reports that "in large Soviet cities there is a widespread unofficial network of circles, seminars and other associations where Hebrew and the Jewish culture are studied" (ibid., 29 Jun 84). The study of language and culture—excellent! However, in the given case it is necessary to speak about a very unique interpretation of culture. During the 1970's a machine-written magazine, TARBUT, appeared in Moscow (KULTURA). It demands the observance of the Saturday sabbath—after all "observing the sabbath and serving God with reverence includes all the commandments of the Torah, all laws of Jewish life" (this is the source of the "Saturday" efforts of the magazine ZNAMYA). We have the speech of the deceased Zionist Ye. Davidovich and excerpts from a book by M. Elkins published in the U.S., "Hardened by Rage" (New York, 1971). What is noteworthy here is this excerpt: "For over 20 years a mysterious fellowship of people—small and secret—has existed in Europe, Israel and many other places. Among 'the men and women who belonged to it were landowners and merchants, journalists and government officials; one of the women was a famous poet, one of the men was a minister for religious affairs. Regardless of their official status all of them were performing a common, voluntary and difficult task—they tracked down and murdered other men and women."

The usual idea of such a fellowship is a band, as far from culture as a grave-digger from a pediatrician. Yet here, as you see, is "Tarbut" [Hebrew educational and cultural organizations maintaining schools in most East European countries between the two world wars].... The existence of this band was confirmed by the Israeli newspaper "Our Country," which has promised to hang M. al-Qadhdhafi, Dzh. Khabbash, and the author of this article ("Our Country," 8 Mar 82).

This is why we should not be extremely naive and accept at face value the demand of dubious individuals with regard to "culture." In spite of the unavoidable wailing

about "anti-Semitism," let us look into what specific rites of this "culture" they have in mind and into who will begin to cultivate the soil of this "culture."

The newspaper MOLODEZH ESTONII on 11 June of this year published the discussion of its reporter with the writer M. Veller, entitled, "I am an Emigrant." What kind of emigrant? What was the topic of the article? It turns out that M. Veller did not like Russia at all. He lived in Leningrad, could not publish his work there, lost all faith, became embittered, and for this reason, as he states, "emigrated from Russia to Estonia in search of a better lot." Being in a "small internal emigration," M. Veller got settled fairly well, overcame the habit of "that nervous malice which so permeated him in Leningrad," published his work and even appeared in the newspaper with an edifying discussion, in which he touched on the life and mood of Soviet Jews. With knowledge of the matter he declared the following: "Thus, among Jews as among other people, there are people who are more nationalistic and less nationalistic; there are those who consider themselves representatives of the Jewish people and Israel their homeland."

Now, with a consideration of such circumstances let us remember the society that was created in Estonia, "Society of Jewish Culture." Undoubtedly, it will include the "emigrant" who was lost to Russia and those who feel more or less nationalistic, considering Israel their homeland. What will they do there? The chairman of the "society," S. Lazikin, reports that they will be involved in the "reestablishment of monuments to Jewish culture."

In most cases these are exclusively religious monuments—synagogues, Torah scrolls and Talmud volumes. The "society" plans to hold lectures and concerts on the subject, "Music of the Old Testament," for which it will invite cantors from various cities of the Soviet Union. In other words, everything revolves around Judaism and synagogues, which for many centuries isolated Jews from genuine culture.

Then the reporter asked S. Lazikin, "Does a problem exist for you?" In response he heard, "It is no secret that we have basically forgotten the language of our ancestors. At one time there were Hebrew schools even in the smallest Estonian towns. These are the problems that give us a headache."

If we sigh about the past, there is no cause for headache. Before the war "4,500 Jews lived in Estonia, and from this number a certain portion of Jews was so assimilated and felt itself alien to Judaism that there were actually very few proponents of Jewish autonomy" (Book on Russian Judaism 1917-1967, New York, 1968, p 54). It is understandable because the "language of ancestors" was studied by only 391 children (ibid., p 55).

Finally, S. Lazikin expressed the hope to "develop contacts with other Jewish communities in the USSR and abroad" (SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH, 22 Jun 88). If we remember that in our country we have only religious Jewish communities and if we consider that contact with foreign communities presupposes more than joint tea-drinking, it becomes clear that the planned contacts will touch on that same "cultural-national autonomy" to a lesser degree. Is there any point in repeating the same thoughts and declarations that were expressed by the congress of Jewish communities in Revel almost 70 years ago?

But there is nothing new under the sun. "Cultural-national autonomy," "homelands," and the desire for foreign contact—none of this is new; it is renewed in memory and at a convenient moment is pulled into the light; it is the Jewish national antiquity that is well-known to all of us.

Tolstoy Elected Chairman of Culture Foundation

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[Text] Moscow March 11 TASS—Academician Nikita Tolstoy, 65, has been elected chairman of the Slavic Writing and Cultures Foundation.

A two-day constituent conference of this new public organisation ended in Moscow on Saturday. Among 55 trustees are the writers' unions of the Russian Federation, the Ukraine and Belorussia, the USSR Music Society, the Russian Orthodox Church, the USSR Commission for UNESCO Affairs, the Ural Engineering Plant and many other institutions and enterprises.

Nikita Tolstoy, a great-grandson of writer Lev Tolstoy, is full member of the USSR Academy of Sciences at the Department of History and Language. He works at the Institute of Slavic and Balkan Studies and reads lectures at Moscow University.

He associates most extensive plans with the activities of the foundation. These include first of all the assimilation of the rich cultural heritage of the three largest republics of the USSR—the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, and Belorussia—and its organic introduction to present-day life.

A festival of Slavic writing and culture will be held in Kiev at the end of May with the foundation's participation. It will be dedicated to the 175th anniversary of the birth of poet Taras Shevchenko.

The preparation of a Slavic encyclopaedia of culture, a Russian encyclopaedia of culture, a single consolidated catalogue of Slavic music manuscripts has been started.

Branches of the foundation will open in Leningrad, Kiev, and Minsk.

Lenin's 'New Economic Policy' Examined Theoretically

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10 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Part one of two-part series by Doctor of Historical Sciences V. Sirotkin: "Lessons of the New Economic Policy; Thinking Aloud Before the CPSU Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Scientists, publicists, and writers have recently been showing a sharply increased interest in Lenin's model of revolutionary reformism—the New Economic Policy (NEP)—as a tragically unrealized path to socialism. However, despite all the innovation and boldness of their opinions, most of the participants in these productive discussions seem to be inside the circle described 50 years ago in Stalin's legend—the "Short Course."

The first half of this circle is formed by the thesis on the "purely Russian" nature of NEP, allegedly caused by the specific conditions of building socialism in one country under the conditions of hostile capitalist encirclement, although V.I. Lenin surprised many foreign Communists at the Fourth World Comintern Congress in November 1922 by setting them the task of studying NEP.

N.I. Bukharin made an even clearer appeal for the international Communist movement to transfer to NEP at the very same congress: "I say this: NEP's problems are international.... If you take even the most developed industrial countries, such as Germany or even America, for example, surely you do not think that they will not find themselves facing the same problem? Well, they will—immediately after the revolution. Surely it is not possible, for example, to subordinate the American farming industry to a definite, organized plan right from the very start? It certainly is not possible. These strata need some economic freedom. The same thing applies to Germany."

The second half of the circle is comprised of claims—again, from the "Short Course"—that NEP was in fact an abberation, a temporary deviation from orthodox Marxism by virtue of temporary exceptional circumstances (the civil war), because, as A. Auzan, for example, a political economist from the Moscow State University, still believes today, "the substitution of the socialist ideal with the ideal of a transitional economy is fraught with the danger of a historical impasse."

Every author is free to express his own view, of course. It just seems to me that this view is dictated not by a search for the truth but by "departmental truth." After all, if you are really going to tell the truth about NEP, you have to remember one of the main ingredients of its success—the tenfold reduction in the Army and also the publication in the open press of expenditure on the Workers and Peasants Red Army (in 1925, it amounted to just half of the amount spent on the People's Commissariat of Railways) and the pitiful wages paid to "red commanders": as is well known, there were no colonels or generals in the Workers and Peasants Red Army, and no payment was made "for gold braid" which also did not exist before 1943.

Of course, neither I nor my opponents actually witnessed NEP—we grew up after Stalin had already sent it "to the devil." This makes the testimonies of ordinary witnesses all the more valuable—such as the letter from labor veteran Ye. Bender, published in KOMMUNIST in September last year: "There was more socialism in Lenin's NEP.... It always hurts me when people talk about NEP condescendingly, as if it were an unsuccessful experiment in our history.... For me, NEP was a miracle wrought by Soviet power for the good of the people. It has the total advantage in everything in comparison with capitalism. I now wonder why I am supposed to consider NEP a deviation from socialism, a step backwards, and everything since 1929 to the present day as socialism, and developed socialism at that?"

I must objectively admit that the views of political economist Auzan are still far more fashionable today than the opinions of the mechanic Ye. Bender. Why? Because our school and VUZ textbooks still fail to explain how NEP worked, and its whole essence is reduced to just two slogans—"The substitution of forced grain requisitioning with tax in kind" and "Learning how to trade." Is this not the reason why extremely important documents for understanding Lenin's key idea from his article "On Cooperatives"—"We are forced to recognize a radical change in our entire view on socialism"—are still not accessible to the reader? I am thinking of the stenographic record of the Fourth Congress, which has not been published in Russian since November 1922. When the sixth edition of the complete collection of V.I. Lenin's Works are eventually published and his "NEP" documents for 1921-1923 become fully available to all readers, we will perhaps be able to read the notes of his personal secretaries M.I. Glyasser and L.A. Fotiyeva, dictated by Ilich at the end of 1923: "Of course we have failed. We thought we could create a new communist society at the wave of a magic wand. But this will take decades, generations. So that the party does not lose heart, faith, and its will for struggle, we must depict the return to an exchange economy...as a temporary deviation. But we ourselves must be clearly aware that the attempt has failed and that it is impossible to suddenly change people's outlook and the habits they have acquired over the ages. We can try to drive the population into the new system by force, but the question would still be whether we would retain power in this all-Russian slaughter house." (I have no doubts as to the accuracy with which Lenin's thoughts are conveyed by his secretaries; the same idea is mentioned in "The Trotsky Archives," published abroad, but so far these notes are most fully reproduced in the memoirs of B. Bazhanov, Stalin's former secretary, which were published in Paris and New York in 1983).

NEP certainly was not a tactical maneuver or some temporary "substitution of the socialist ideal" as it now seems to many supporters of the administrative-edict system.

It has become common practice to claim that the "war communism" regime was forced on the Bolsheviks by the civil war and foreign intervention. This is quite untrue, if only because the first decrees on the introduction of the "socialist ideal" in Soviet Russia strictly "according to Marx" were issued long before the start of the civil war (26 January and 14 February 1918 on the nationalization of the merchant fleet and all banks), while the last decree, on the socialization of all small workshops and artisan trades, was issued on 29 November 1920; that is, after the civil war had ended in European Russia.

The conditions of the civil war and intervention did leave their mark, of course. But the main factor lay elsewhere: in the rapid realization of theory strictly according to Marx (from "Criticism of the Gotha Program") and according to Engels (from "Anti-Duehring"). The civil war here was actually more of a "background" for vulgarized theory. "Every factory, every bank, every office, store, and lawyer's reception room," L.D. Trotsky wrote in theoretical substantiation of this "socialist ideal," "was a fortress against us. They furnished the militant counterrevolutionaries with a material base.... We had to smash the enemy and deprive it of its sources of sustenance, regardless of the extent to which organizational economic work kept pace with this. The mass expropriation of not only the large and medium bourgeoisie but also the petty bourgeoisie in the cities and the countryside was not a measure of economic expediency but a political necessity."

N.I. Bukharin, the most zealous supporter of "war communism" in 1917-1920, called for a complete break with the past in his theoretical works: The abolition of money ("the financial economy will die away"), the "compulsory consolidation of the population in consumer communes," the abolition of trade and its replacement with "the distribution of products," and the "replacement of the domestic economy with a social economy.... (for example, by means of obtaining food together, cooking food together, and organizing large and model canteens)."

And all this was to be on a world scale: "The way is clear. Universal support for international revolution.... Overthrowing the imperialist governments through armed uprising and the organization of an international republic of soviets: this is the way to an international dictatorship of the working class."

These revolutionary illusions and revolutionary impatience were not the exclusive domain of the Bolsheviks. Confidence that a European proletarian revolution would soon begin was then universal. Arriving in Petrograd from life in exile, Lenin, according to the memoirs of N.K. Krupskaya, shouted this slogan during his famous speech from an armored car on 3 April 1917: "Long live the socialist world revolution!" Subsequently, when Stalin removed all reference to a world proletarian revolution from his "Short Course," this slogan of Ilich's was quoted without the epithet "world." Meanwhile, 3 years later, on the anniversary of the October revolution, Lenin said at a ceremonial session in Moscow: "...We began our cause, reckoning exclusively on world revolution." A characteristic feature is that the lightest criminal sentence in 1918 (rather like our 15 days) was "imprisonment until the start of world revolution."

And what about the economic difficulties which inexplicably arose after the October revolution, despite the fact that private ownership had been eliminated, the land given over to the peasantry, and plants nationalized? It was very simple—all would be resolved through world revolution. Here is how L. Trotsky, for example, envisaged the solution to this disorganization of the economy: "If the European proletariat should win power...it will take our own backward country in tow, give us technical and organizational assistance, and thereby allow us, by correcting and changing the methods of our war communism, to attain a truly socialist economy."

But the European proletariat did not succeed in "taking Russia in tow." Lenin clearly had realized this by the end of 1920. "With our backwardness," he said in his report "NEP and the Tasks of Political Education Bodies," "we cannot seal the fate of capitalism with a frontal attack." But Ilich was looking even further: It was not simply a question of world revolution "being late." There was a far more important issue to be considered: The socialist ideal according to Marx—the nationalization of banks and the entire economy, and the smashing of the old state apparatus—had in practice failed to lead to popular self-management, the development of the economy, and the progress of socialist consciousness.

The system of worker self-management at nationalized enterprises, introduced by a decree of 26 October 1917, was not working: The working people were able to organize things in a manner of speaking at their own plant or factory, but the self-management system came unstuck when anything more was required of it (obtaining raw material, selling output, managing intersectorial ties, and so forth). Anarchy spread: The factory and plant committees paid no attention to the central main administrations of the Supreme Council of the National Economy, and did not produce the things that were needed.

On 16 February 1918, the Supreme Council of the National Economy tried to rectify the situation by issuing a decree to ban the factory and plant committees from carrying out further unauthorized nationalization of industrial enterprises.

However, the country's economy continued to break down. The Bolsheviks were forced to make a substantial amendment to Marxist theory on completely smashing the old state and economic system—it seemed that the country could not be run without a special stratum of "administrators." Bukharin wrote: "Every worker understands that factories and plants cannot do without accountants, technicians, engineers, and so forth.... They should serve the working class just as they served the bourgeoisie in the past."

On 28 June 1918, the Council of People's Commissars placed a number of medium-sized enterprises "at the disposal of their former owners to be used on a no-payment lease basis." Insofar as extremely few people showed any desire to respond to the decree of 28 June, in 1919 former owners and administrators began to be sent to their old factories and plants as "specialists," as a form of labor conscription, to "serve the workers" on the basis of Council of People's Commissars mandates.

However, even those "specialists" loyal to Soviet power found it very difficult to "serve the workers." In addition to the constant battle being waged within the party leadership between the pragmatists and the doctrinaires (the latter clearly dominated during the "war communism" period, which is evidenced by the decrees on the nationalization of all wholesale and retail trade, and also the nationalization of small cottage industries and workshops), even this orthodox line was constantly distorted at local level, in the provinces. The future "red financier," as G.Ya. Sokolnikov wrote in PRAVDA in March 1919: "The Philistine elements that have attached themselves to the party in vast numbers could not fail to distort revolutionary communism and turn it into 'revolutionary' idiotism...."

The recently published memoirs of F.I. Shalyapin, and also V.G. Korolenko's letters to A.V. Lunacharskiy on the subject of this "revolutionary idiotism" at local level and the "calloused fist" in the capitals, reveal all the tragedy of the situation in which the progressive Russian intelligentsia found itself, coming up against the popular masses not in theory, not in proletarian societies, but in practice, where the main bulk of the peasantry professed the "Pugachev interpretation of the class struggle" (L. Martov) as "a senseless, ruthless" rebellion.

It would have been possible to write off all these excesses as the "flaws" inevitable in any revolution (had the same thing not happened with the French Jacobins?), if Marx's "commodity-free socialism" and the transfer of all property to the working people had led to successes in the economy. But the main scourge was the sharp drop in industrial labor productivity and the proliferation of all manner of inspectors to monitor the use of "all-people's property," or, in other words, the bureaucrats of the future. A typical picture was painted by the former "left-wing" Menshevik, A.S. Martynov-Piker, who went over to the Bolsheviks with the introduction of NEP. Working as a clerk at a sugar plant in the Ukraine during the years of "war communism," he recalled in 1923: "While the smoke had stopped pouring from the factory chimney and work in the plant units and workshops was fading away, work in the plant office was doing the exact opposite—it was becoming more and more animated and growing in volume. Old plant employees said that never before had the plant's accountants and clerks sweated so much over their paperwork...as they did in the last years, when production at the plant had stopped. So what were they were writing? They were filling out countless questionnaires for reports requested by various centers—Podolsakhar, Glavsakhar, Raysakar, and so on and so forth."

The conscious gamble on the elimination of commodity-monetary market relations led to the virtual abolition of money and the transition to a "coupon" system of payment in kind. Academician S.G. Strumilin estimates that in 1920 the monetary content of a worker's wages amounted to just 7 percent of the 1917 level and that, even in 1922, his wages amounted to only 30 percent of a worker's average wages in 1913.

People's wages began to take the form of ration cards instead of money. This was primarily dictated by the sharp depreciation in the ruble: Its purchasing power had fallen 74 times by 1922 in comparison with 1917!

On 30 April 1920, the Third All-Russian Trade Union Congress made the decision to make a general transition from wages in the form of money to "ration" wages based on cards and categories.

Payments for apartments, municipal services, and travel on public transport had been abolished even earlier. Clothing, footwear, and linen were all supplied on a ration basis. The all-powerful People's Commissariat of Food (Narkomprod) was responsible for the distribution of all these goods. For some categories of unskilled workers and employees, particularly those recently arrived in the city from the countryside, this kind of "communism" was a boon. It is not surprising that they gave a hostile reception to NEP.

But skilled workers with large families lost all incentive in their work: It made no difference whether they did any work or none—they did not earn anything anyway; the main thing was your category and your "rations." The result was that as many as 50 percent of these workers left the large industrial enterprises and moved to the countryside, where they could live better, easier lives. The outcome was that the working class declined in number and skills, while, on the other hand, the number of employees multiplied rapidly: Whereas there were 15 workers per employee in 1913, by 1920 there were only 7. It was no accident that, when NEP was introduced in the country, the first 1 million unemployed on 1 January 1924 included 750,000 "office employees," or, as A.I.

Rykov described them in his report on NEP to the Fifth Comintern Congress, "the Soviet gentry...from all manner of soviet, industrial, trade, cooperative, and other apparatuses."

The results of "war communism" being applied to the economy proved catastrophic: By the beginning of NEP, the country was producing just 2 percent of its prewar (1913) cast iron output, 3 percent of its sugar output, 5-6 percent of its cotton fiber output, and so on. The attempt to introduce "communism from above" had led to a breach between the city and the countryside, a sharp decline in the economy, the dispersion of the working class, and the armed resistance of the peasantry.

Addressing the Second All-Russian Congress of Political Education Bodies on 17 October 1921, V.I. Lenin described this theoretical and practical impasse encountered by "war communism" as follows: "Food requisitioning in the countryside and that direct communist approach to construction tasks in the city have prevented the development of productive forces and proved to be the main cause of the profound economic and political crisis we encountered in the spring of 1921."

Theoretical Marxist thought in revolutionary Soviet Russia sought the reasons for the failure of this experiment, which had been conducted "strictly according to Marx." Elements of this research were evident in 1918 in V.I. Lenin's pamphlet "The Next Tasks of Soviet Power."

A fundamental rejection of the commodity-free and money-free postulates of prewar, 19th century Marxism and Lenin's "radical change in our views on socialism" were the results of this agonizing quest. Addressing the Third World Comintern Congress on 5 July 1921, V.I. Lenin considerably expanded on and theoretically generalized his report at the 10th Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks Congress on tax in kind: "Freedom of trade means freedom of capitalism—but a new form of capitalism. It means that, to a certain extent, we are recreating capitalism. We are doing this quite openly. It is state capitalism. But state capitalism in a society where power belongs to capital, and state capitalism in a proletarian state are two different concepts."

Until that point, there had been just one basic postulate of Marxism: To "smash" capitalism. Lenin set a quite different task: "To revive trade, small businesses, and capitalism...making it possible to subject them to state regulation only as they are revived."

This introduced a totally new aspect to Marxism. The historical tragedy of most of Lenin's comrades-in-arms, and particularly of ordinary party members in the "war communism" era, was that they failed to thoroughly appreciate the whole genius of Ilich's "radical change" and avoided putting it into practice.

Comparison of Party State, Law Conference

PM1303123189

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 12 March 1989 carries in its Second Edition on page 2 a TASS report on the 10-11 March CPSU Central Committee conference of state and law department chiefs, entitled "Conference at CPSU Central Committee." This item has been compared with the translation of the Moscow TASS International version published in the 13 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 95-96, revealing the following variations:

page 96, column one, first paragraph, from sentence four, PRAVDA reads: ...of existing shortcomings in their life are possible, given... (adding phrase "in their life")

second paragraph, from last sentance PRAVDA reads: ...while fulfilling their military duty and giving... (retranslating)

third paragraph, from last sentence, PRAVDA reads: ...the party's decisions. [new paragraph]

The conference was addressed by B.K. Pugo, chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee; V.A. Mikhaylov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee State and Law Department; V.V. Bakatin, USSR minister of internal affairs; B.V. Kravtsov, USSR minister of justice; A.Ya. Sukharev, USSR general prosecutor; M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister; F.D. Bobkov, first deputy chairman of the USSR KGB; V.I. Yefimov, chief of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee State and Law Department; V.G. Bakradze, chief of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee State and Law Department; T.L. Dushkevich, chief of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee State and Law Department; N. Khuvaydullayev, chief of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee State and Law Department; V.F. Chernyshev, chief of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom State and Law Department; V.P. Strashko, chief of the Sverdlovsk CPSU Obkom State and Law Department; V.N. Galkin, chief of the Kemerovo CPSU Obkom State and Law Department; V.A. Tikhonenko, chief of the Dagestan CPSU Obkom State and Law Department; A.P. Zozulya, chief of the Altay CPSU Kraykom State and Law Department; B.I. Vykhristenko, deputy chief of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee State and Law Department; and V.Z. Dudik, chief of the Brest Party Obkom State and Law Department.

Those taking part in the conference familiarized themselves at the Internal Affairs Main Directorate of Moscow Gorispolkom with the work... (adding paragraph and retranslating)

Economic

* Economist Interviewed on Assessing National Wealth

WA18200242 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 4 Mar 89 p 1

[Interview with B. M. Sabanti, professor of Leningrad Finance-Economic Institute, by E. Leontyeva: "How to Measure the Wealth of a Country"; first paragragh is an introduction; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Today, Boris Mikhaylovich Sabanti, doctor of economic sciences, professor of the Leningrad Finance-Economics Institute, is our guest. In addition, he is the chairman of the "Aktsioner" information cooperative. This is his first appearance at SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA. The topic offered by our correspondent really touched him. Having agreed to this interview, he cautioned us that there are a multitude of problems involved here and that he would not undertake to cover them all. However, he did share with us what concerns him the most.

[Leontyeva] Boris Mikhaylovich, let us first determine what the wealth or poverty of the state means. Can we equate the wealth of a country and the wealth of society with each other?

[Sabanti] There are several indicators of wealth. There is national income, including per capita national income; foreign and domestic debt—overall and per capita; income levels; availability of a basket of consumer goods; the housing situation, and many others. Comparative data are only now beginning to surface which suggest that our statistics, whichever ones you look at, give no grounds for optimism.

[Leontyeva] Since we do not know the statistics and do not go into the nuances, we are used to judging the wealth of our country by the content of our own wallets, the opportunity to purchase goods with our cash, and the extremely low standard of the free benefits which are offered to us.

[Sabanti] This is absolutely correct. These personal opinions of ours end as a rule in the conclusion that our country is poor. However, at the same time our state may be considered rich as it has concentrated under its control the entire bulk of property, all natural and human resources.

It is another issue how the state manages all of this. Spoiled lands, lost harvests, poor-quality footwear and clothing, disregard for basic ecological norms, and many other things are a rebuke to us. The parasitic upbringing of the two last generations is even more of a rebuke. The state must give me work, an apartment, free medical care, recreation at reduced fees....

And who is to blame for the first, the second, and the third? An answer to this will also be a response to the question of why the country and the people are poor. Let me answer in line with what I think: Our state—with its obsession with centralizing and depersonalizing everything, with handing out and distributing everything as it sees fit—is to blame. The state began to put its heavy hand on everything in the late 1920's. While reinforcing itself, our state made little effort to make the people and the individual citizen affluent. Indeed, when the supposedly all-people's property is not assigned to a specific person or collective, when the state itself—as represented by ministries and offices bearing no responsibility for the consequences of their operations—thoughtlessly squanders the national wealth, what can be expected of such a community? This policy brings about ubiquitous shortages and turns into dishonest games the state plays with its citizens by paying them for their labor with an increasingly depreciating currency. This leads to much social evil.

[Leontyeva] It is hard to disagree with you. It is extremely important for all of us to know whether the state is rich with the wealth of its citizens or at the expense of its citizens.... All in all, is there an opportunity for our state to become affluent? I understand that the question I am asking can irritate some people. Many economists formulate the issue like that: The point is not to get fat, but to survive. Well, we must overcome the crisis condition in our economy, and urgently at that. However, we would very much like the measures proposed and taken now not to be quick fixes. We would like to finally choose a reliable way which will not bring us again to the cataclysms of the past 70 years.

[Sabanti] You are right, a program for our future is everybody's concern. How should we overcome poverty? In general, a simple prescription has been offered at all times: reduce expenditures and enhance revenues. The prescription is good, however, some systems do not allow us to use it. The victory of a socialist revolution—which, contrary to [what] Marx [said], occurred not in the group of developed countries, but in one country, the weakest link of capitalism—immediately forced us to shoulder exorbitant outlays for armaments. So, we developed the military-industrial complex to such a degree that it is the only sector capable of competing with the West at present. Virtually all of the production of other industries is not competitive.

The flywheel has been set in motion and despite all the necessary premises being there, it is not that easy to slow down its revolutions. The exorbitant appetites of monstrous industrial branches increasingly working for themselves rather than for the economy cannot be restrained. Agriculture remains a bottomless pit into which we have been throwing money without any perceptible results so far. The swollen administrative apparatus continues to produce new offshoots. In general, our command-administrative system is so patterned that it is insensitive to the word "cut back." It understands the

word "give me" because this is built into its very essence. As far as increasing revenues is concerned, it is absolutely incapable of taking this step whether you flog it or give it mountains of gold.

[Leontyeva] So, what conditions do we need in order to use the age-old prescription?

[Sabanti] The first necessary condition, as I see it, is as follows: Sensible economic ideas should not be distorted by ideological dogmas. Look at all the harm we've done hurrying to achieve communism, intimidating our people with the restoration of capitalism, and intimidating other peoples with the victory of socialism all over the world. We have strayed far away from Lenin who viewed politics as a concentrated expression of economics. We simply reversed the formula by putting the political cart before the horse.

The second condition is that we stop the total and uncontrollable interference by the state in both the process of production and the process of distribution. For example, how does the state distribute the national income? Why is the exact amount determined "upstairs" allocated for consumption? Furthermore, the issue is how it is determined. In your newspaper, journalist V. Selyunin wrote about this. He believes that cheating already begins here and that the ratio of "consumption to accumulation" is covered up. I believe that another ratio is also obscured, namely, what part of the national income goes to personal, and what part to social consumption? In other words, how much of the person's earnings is given to him as his wages and how much as free social benefits? Statistics on collective [consumption] funds are so cryptic that it is difficult to discern anything on the basis of them. When I made an estimate it turned out like this: We receive about 37 to 40 percent of our earnings for personal consumption. Is this rational? After all, our free social benefits are so poor that they constantly require propping up by our personal ruble (more than one ruble, at that) out of this 37 to 40 percent.

They might object to this by saying that we work poorly, produce little, and, therefore, are paid little. However, it is so for the very reason that state intervention in the process of production is not restricted in any way. Only after we remove this ubiquitous interference may we bring out the interest of the worker....

[Leontyeva] ...In his work and its results?

[Sabanti] In his well-being. He should start wanting to live more independently, better, and more affluently. The country will then begin getting wealthy, too. However, for this we have to return to prerevolutionary slogans: "Land to the peasants," "Factories and plants to the workers." We should return from depersonalized property to a situation of a real owner who enjoys the right to manage property and generate profits.

[Leontyeva] Now this issue is becoming increasingly acute; it is being raised in all kinds of forums. As far as specific organizational forms are concerned, much remains unclear both in theory and in practice.

[Sabanti] For example, where could property be transferred from ministries which are managing it undividedly? It can go to territorial-production complexes which, having severed the unneeded multitude of vertical links, will operate on horizontal links. It is already being transferred to concerns, joint stock companies, associations of independent enterprises, agroindustrial associations, and cooperatives. A territorial soviet or, possibly, the management of a free economic zone may become the owner. Why not? A ministry may remain the owner if it is a managing subject equal to the enterprise rather than an administrative monster crowning the pyramid, if it is a [corporate] person economically responsible for its operations. Also, all of these owners should be absolutely equal before the state budget. It is also very important for them not to be administrative articulators of the interests of state.

When I think about our future I do not believe that everything will undergo a magical transformation once the first offshoots springing up strike a root. Being concerned about the economy, I understand that even under the best conditions it is incredibly difficult to become a zealous master—to say nothing of the present conditions. This issue transcends the competence of an economist. How can we learn to respect our own work and that of others if we were not even taught to preserve the work of our immediate ancestors and were robbed of the memory of kinship and attachment to the motherland in the original meaning of these ideas? Now we are changing our views of the society which has proclaimed the ideals of socialism, and I hope that this will help us to resolutely and consciously embark on the road to civilization.

Scientific

Cosmonauts Conduct Experiments on 'Mir' Station

LD1403124589 Moscow TASS in English 1127 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 14 TASS—By a TASS correspondent reporting from Mission Control Centre:

The Soviet cosmonauts Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Valery Polyakov on board the orbital Mir (peace) station give much time to astrophysical experiments with use of research equipment in the Kvant module.

On March 13, the crew completed another cycle of experiments using an ultraviolet telescope, glazar, they photographed individual sections of the celestial sphere in the Coma Berenices Constellation.

The cosmonauts are continuing experiments envisaged by the international Roentgen programme involving experts from several European nations. Today, they will investigate the X-ray Pulsar Hercules X-1

To determine the best suitable regimens of physical training in conditions of the endurance space flight, Krikalev will conduct an experiment, known as "sport" under a close watch of Doctor Polyakov.

The cosmonauts are in good health, according to the results of medical check-ups and reports from the station.

Work on board the manned complex Mir is proceeding in accordance with schedule.

Military

* Academician Urges Less Secrecy in Military

WA18070541 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 9, 4-10 Mar 89 pp 6-7

[Interview with Academician V. I. Goldanskiy, by S. Pestov: "The World Has Become Very Small"; first paragraph is an introduction; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Academician V. I. Goldanskiy is known as an active proponent of multifaceted ties between scientific-technical progress and the new political thinking. This is the topic of his conversation with ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent S. Pestov.

[Pestov] Vitaliy Iosifovich, I happen to have heard your assessment of the role of spy satellites, which is paradoxical at first sight. Could you dwell on it in more detail?

[Goldanskiy] Our consciousness is literally polluted with the stereotypes of the past. People of the entire world were vigorously persuaded to strive to accumulate at any price as many weapons as possible with the most intimidating destructive potential. Under such circumstances, spy satellites were considered to be a particular threat in instances when secrecy was considered to be the "forward edge of defense." We should mention that containment through the threat of retaliation played a favorable role in the past, primarily due to the destruction of the U.S. nuclear monopoly. Europe has lived for more than 40 years without a war.

However, overblown armed forces are a very expensive psychological weapon. It might intimidate, but it does not [provide] security.

[Pestov] This is to say that the concept of mutual containment through the might of weapons should be replaced by....

[Goldanskiy] ...a concept of mutual confidence. However, I would call an attempt to leap immediately from containment through the might of weapons to confidence utopian. An intermediate stage is needed, which we essentially have already embarked on. This is "containment through verification," based on verification—that is, strict mutual control and inspection. It is completely in line with the principle of glasnost in international politics. The world has become increasingly small and open. In general, everything is subject to control and inspection due to the development of space exploration, microelectronics, and data processing.

I believe that from this point of view a "spy satellite" is an obsolete stereotype, the same as other "images of the enemy." As a matter of fact, at present the satellites—along with everything that facilitates observation and inspection of compliance with the obligations assumed—stabilize peace. In turn, the allocation of enormous funds by the Pentagon to the "Stealth" bomber which invisible to radar is a destabilizing factor.

[Pestov] A reduction of armed forces and armaments recently initiated unilaterally by our country stabilizes peace.

[Goldanskiy] Believe me, it has not made us weaker in any way. When we display openness, and our deeds confirm it, we also engender confidence. What emerges is a chain with positive feedback. Verification begets confidence and confidence expands the potential for verification. On the contrary, secrecy which is particularly characteristic of our society and other societies, gives rise to suspicions.... Tell me who is going to believe that we annually spend a sum of about R20 billion on defense?

[Pestov] Military expenditures of the U.S. exceed $300 billion annually. We should also be spending more than R20 billion to maintain military parity even if our Army is not a mercenary army.

[Goldanskiy] According to data of American special services—and these are the only open data on this subject—we spend over $220 billion for military purposes.

This is a strange item of expenditures. Calculations for other sectors may be made with great precision, regardless of the disarray in prices, but this one.... However, recently a reduction of our military budget by 14.2 percent was announced. A statistic to the third point was given, that is, it was possible to calculate it after all. These bureaucratic games are not only laughable. They are dangerous in the current period when confidence has to become a norm of behavior. Removing nonsensical restrictions on the availability of information to Soviet people and completely removing secrecy from all data not containing state and military secrets should become the prerogative of activities of people's deputies and commissions of the Supreme Soviet. We need firm and precise legislation to this effect, based on a presumption of non-secrecy—he who raises the issue of making some data secret should prove the necessity of this measure.

I believe that the deputies should do everything possible for our country to switch from an economy of armaments to one of disarmament. The military potential should remain only at a level required by the defensive doctrine.

Out of the enormous debt of developing countries many billions of dollars are owed to our country for the deliveries of arms to them. However, Lenin in his time stressed that the best aid we can give to national liberation movements is an inspiring example of the successful creation of a new society—not aid in the form of arms. The burden of military expenditures is ruinous for both the developing and developed countries.

By now, nuclear explosives with a total yield of 10,000 to 15,000 megatons have been accumulated in the world. There are three tons for every person!

You know, it occurred to me that if all of this destructive energy were to be transformed into life-sustaining energy (statistically, of course, because it cannot be done physically), say, into calories of butter, then we would come out with 300 kilograms of butter for every inhabitant of our planet. Alternatively, it would be three tonnes of meat. At an annual rate of 60 kilograms, there would be enough for everyone for 50 years!

[Pestov] Vitaliy Iosifovich, is this kind of "conversion" possible—transforming nuclear explosives into nuclear fuel for nuclear power stations?

[Goldanskiy] Yes, and it is not at all difficult technically. Nuclear explosives can be used to enrich natural uranium, which is much simpler and less expensive than the current methods of enrichment. If all of these 15,000 megatons were sent to the boilers of the nuclear power stations—the overall capacity of which throughout the world is 400 million kilowatts—they would be able to work on "converted" fuel for over 2 years. In addition, if we use rapid-neutron fission by creating reactors fueled by a mixture of molten plutonium and thorium salts, as the French have suggested, then the energy of nuclear explosives would suffice for the nuclear power stations for 20 years.

[Pestov] Perhaps, not only the "other" side but our scientists as well are to blame for this accumulation of nuclear warheads.

[Goldanskiy] If we had in the late 1950's the level of democracy and glasnost which we have now, I believe that the sad event which occurred in 1961 would not have happened—our country was the first to violate a 3-year unofficial moratorium on all types of testing nuclear weapons which the Americans and our country observed. At the time, Academician Sakharov was virtually the only one to protest.

Somewhat later, a treaty on the complete elimination of nuclear testing fell through, which was also our fault to a large degree. We turned down strict mutual verification, considering it tantamount to spying in our territory. These are the pernicous mistakes brought on by excessive suspicions and whipping up secrecy.

[Pestov] Vitaliy Iosifovich, in 1988 you were the only representative of science in the Soviet delegation to the 3d UN Special Session on Disarmament. You took part in many international meetings of scientists. Have you encountered in the course of these meetings a situation when material from foreign scientific publications is new for our participants even though the literature is far from being the latest?

[Goldanskiy] In the past year and a half this has not been happening anymore. Before that, it happened time and time again. We were not aware of articles in the most widely read scientific journals of the U.S. and England, despite the fact that these articles had profitable information on various current issues. The reason was very simple. Some people wanted to look very vigilant and things became absurd. Our libraries received foreign journals in which unknown officials cut these articles out and even blackened their titles in the table of contents....

[Pestov] You are president of the Soviet Pugwash Committee, deputy chairman of the Committee of Soviet Scientists to Protect the World from the Nuclear Threat, deputy chairman of the board of the All-Union "Znaniye" Society, and so on, and so forth. Does Academician Goldanskiy have a private life, a favorite hobby, or time for sports and family?

[Goldanskiy] I try to make time for walking and swimming. I like to listen to and collect records and compact discs, mainly with classical music.

[Pestov] Our readers are asking about the salary of academicians.

[Goldanskiy] For the title of academician, R500. As an institute director, I receive R600 more.

[Pestov] On top of this, you are the editor-in-chief of the magazine KHIMICHESKAYA FIZIKA, member of many national academies, member of editorial boards of foreign and international journals....

[Goldanskiy] Various journals mean volunteer work (lots of it). Memberships in foreign academies and societies are strictly honorary titles.

[Pestov] As we can see, the array of your pursuits is quite formidable. This must be the reason why so many social organizations nominated you a candidate deputy. Could you enumerate the main points of your program?

[Goldanskiy] They were touched upon to some degree in our conversation. You have asked me, and I have responded to the questions which concern people more than anything else. They are the ones that form the foundation of my platform. Perhaps, this is the way this must be with all candidate deputies.